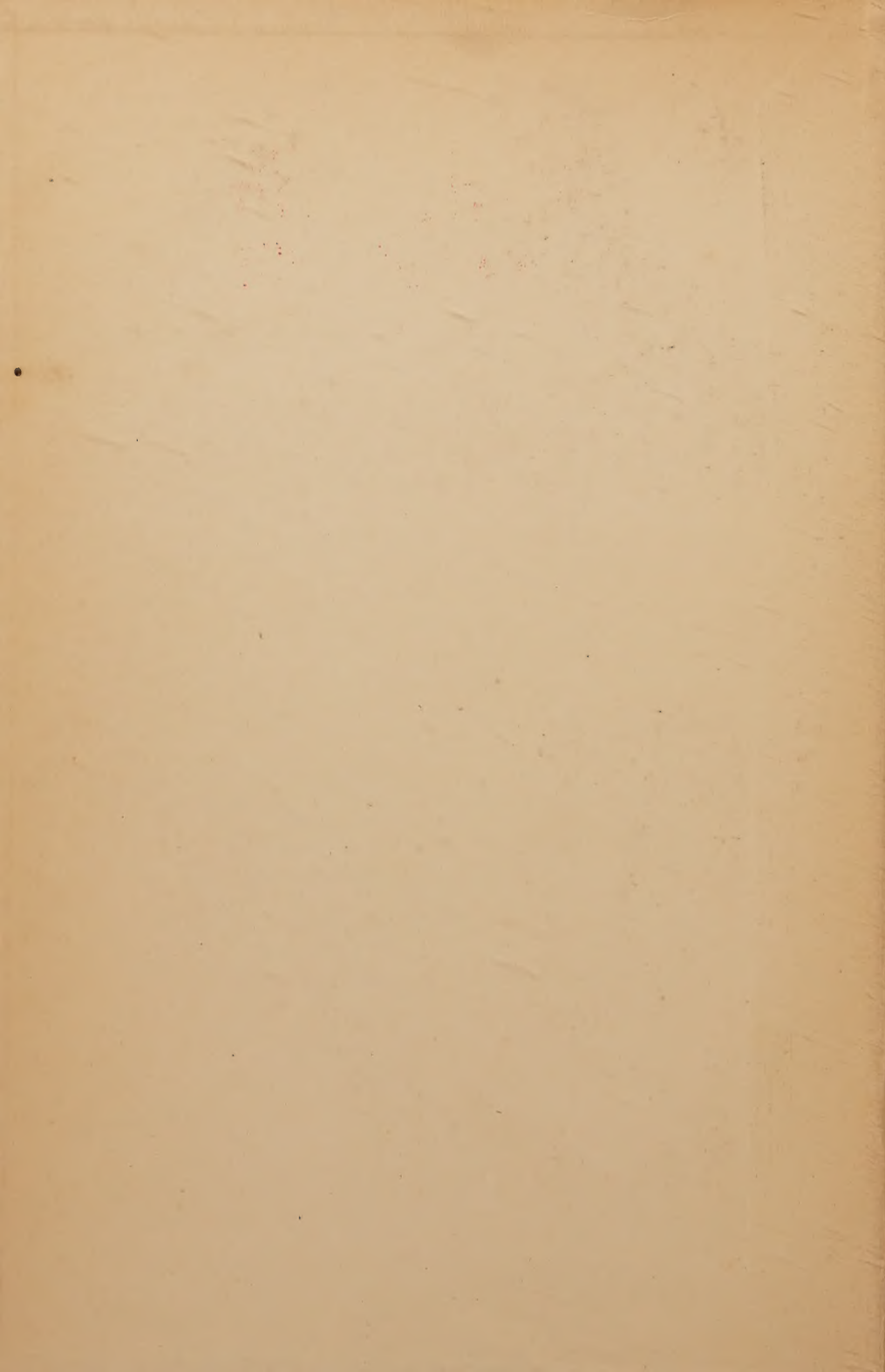


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LETTERS
LECTURES AND ADDRESSES
OF
CHARLES EDWARD GARMAN

A Memorial Volume

PREPARED WITH THE COÖPERATION OF
THE CLASS OF 1884, AMHERST COLLEGE

BY

ELIZA MINER GARMAN



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TO THE STUDENTS WITH WHOM MY HUSBAND
LOVED TO WORK, AND TO THE FRIENDS
WHOSE SYMPATHY AND APPRECIATION
HE PRIZED SO HIGHLY, THIS VOL-
UME OF HIS WRITINGS IS
DEDICATED

PREFACE

CHARLES EDWARD GARMAN taught Philosophy in Amherst College for more than twenty-five years with rare skill, enthusiasm, and devotion. His students not only became interested in the subject he taught, but felt the inspiration of contact with an unusual personality, and many of them were permanently and deeply influenced by him. After his untimely death at the age of fifty-six many among his wide circle of students and friends, and also among his philosophical colleagues, expressed the desire that his writings might be published. During his life, however, he had steadfastly refrained from publication, and the printed but unpublished pamphlets used in connection with his class-room instruction were not intended either in form or in substance as an adequate presentation of his thought. Besides the more strictly philosophical material, he left manuscripts of addresses and letters to classes or individuals, some of which had been printed in class-books or other fugitive publications. These were of more general interest, and at the same time would come to many alumni and friends as a personal message. In the hope of continuing and extending his influence and at the same time of doing justice to the known feeling of Professor Garman, and because of the unsystematic character of what he had left, it was proposed to publish privately. With a view to securing this end, the following letter, embodying the plan suggested by Mr. Willcox, was sent to Mrs. Garman: —

CHICAGO, ILL., *June 3, 1908.*

DEAR MRS. GARMAN, — We write you on behalf of the Class of 1884 of Amherst College and as a Committee of that Class. Since the death of our teacher and friend, Professor Garman, time has only deepened in us the conviction, which then found general expression, that some record of his work should be preserved for his students, for Amherst College, and for posterity. We believe that the record of greatest worth will be the perpetuation of his words to those for whom he lived and wrought and died. You and we might hesitate to have him judged by an ignorant or unfriendly world upon words uttered with no thought of such a use. But no friend of his, we believe, can object to having them preserved for the eyes of those to whom his life was devoted.

We are but one Class among many which loved him, but we received and profited by his earliest instruction, and the ties formed during his first years of teaching strengthened steadily during his twenty-six years of later life. On this ground we ask a privilege which many later classes will be glad to share. We ask that we may coöperate with you in preparing and printing for private circulation a memorial volume to Charles E. Garman to include all his writings published during his lifetime, a selection from his manuscript papers, and the tributes to his memory which appeared after his death. We will assume the initial cost of such a volume up to \$500.00, and will offer it to all Amherst alumni at about the cost of publication. If the volume more than pays for itself, the proceeds will be turned over to you. We hope you will feel that this proposal is made in a spirit of loyalty to our departed friend, and will find in it underlying

our deep sympathy for your bereavement a sound judgment regarding the proper course of action, which will commend it to your acceptance.

Yours faithfully,

JAMES H. TUFTS.

WALTER F. WILLCOX.

WILLIAM S. ROSSITER.

Mrs. CHARLES E. GARMAN,
Amherst, Mass.

To this letter Mrs. Garman replied, saying:—

“The Class of 1884 was very dear to Mr. Garman and he belonged to it as to no other class. I feel sure that any suggestion as to his writings which in their judgment they think wise, could but meet with his approval. It will give me the greatest satisfaction to have the coöperation of your class in preparing such a volume as you indicate to be printed for private circulation among his former students and friends. Your kind reference to me is most touching. Will you as a Committee of the Class of 1884 express to them my hearty approval of their proposition and my acceptance of their plan, assuring them of my deepest appreciation of their kindness. Especially does it give me joy to be reassured of their love and esteem for Mr. Garman, which prompts them in this way to perpetuate his memory.”

As the work of editing went on, however, the conviction gained strength that it would be better to publish the writings in the usual manner, trusting the reader to remember the conditions under which the work appears, and to view it as a human docu-

ment rather than as an impersonal treatise. It is accordingly so issued.

In collaboration with Mrs. Garman, Mr. Tufts has been principally responsible for the introductory sketch and for selecting and editing the pamphlets and other papers. Mr. Rossiter has edited the series of letters to the Class of '84. Important assistance in preparing the introduction was rendered by many whose letters have been incorporated wholly or in part. Among those who have been especially helpful should be mentioned Professor John B. Clark, President Timothy Dwight, Reverend C. E. Sargent, and Professor John E. Russell, for accounts of Professor Garman as a student; Professor Anna Cutler, for the statement as to his course given at Smith College; and Professor Newlin, for the account of his later teaching.

With this explanation the writings of Professor Garman are submitted to the alumni of Amherst College, who knew and loved him, and to his many friends and colleagues, in the belief that although fragmentary and doubtless far from his ideal of what should be published in his name, they will serve as a welcome reminder of one whose influence lives on, although his voice is now silenced. To those who did not know him in life they may at least have the human interest which always attends upon considering in common with a sincere and broad-minded fellow man themes which lie very near the heart of things.

JAMES H. TUFTS.

WALTER F. WILLCOX.

WILLIAM S. ROSSITER.

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INTRODUCTION

I

CHARLES EDWARD GARMAN was born December 18, 1850, in Limington, Maine, where his father was pastor of the Congregational church. Little is known of the Garman line prior to the great-grandfather, Joseph Garman, who was a Revolutionary soldier. Garmans of German and Welsh stocks settled in Pennsylvania, and there were early emigrants to New England of this name who may well have been of English blood, as the name, which signifies "spearman," admits of English as well as of German derivation. No head of a family bearing the name, however, is recorded from the New England states in the first United States census of 1790. John Harper Garman, father of Professor Garman, was born January 20, 1811, in Meredith Bridge, now Laconia, New Hampshire, the son of Joseph and Anna Leach Garman. He was very successful for several years as a teacher, but decided at length to enter the ministry, and was graduated from Andover in 1845. After pastorates in Baldwin, Limington, Scarboro, and Lebanon, Maine, he removed in 1866 to North Orange, Massachusetts, where he preached until about seventy, and resided until his death at the age of ninety-three. Professor Garman's mother was Elizabeth Bullard, daughter of Nathan and Nancy Russell Bullard of Medway, Massachusetts. Prior to her marriage to Mr. Garman, March 2, 1840, she had been a teacher,

and after this event the two had a school together in North Carolina. But she was of a deeply religious nature and was glad to coöperate with her husband in the hardship involved in his change of occupation, for she believed the ministry to be the highest of vocations.

As might be inferred from the father's vocation and the mother's ideals the atmosphere of the home was deeply and pervasively religious. The marvelous familiarity with the Bible, which made its imagery the symbol and its phrase the language in which Professor Garman spontaneously embodied or illustrated nearly every thought, doubtless had its origin in the atmosphere and speech with which his boyhood was environed.

Charles had attended Lebanon Academy, and after the removal to North Orange completed his preparation for college at the Athol high school. He walked the three miles of hilly road at morning and at night and helped in the manifold tasks which await a boy on a farm before and after school. When ready for college it seemed necessary to his father to have his help and company at home for one more season, and accordingly it was in January instead of September that he found himself in Amherst. He had managed to follow the studies of the autumn while working at home, and after passing examinations upon these was admitted to membership in the class of 1872. In Sophomore year he roomed in 6 North College; in Junior and Senior years, in 14 South College.

He brought a little money which he had earned, and managed in various ways to help himself. In Sophomore year he taught a twelve weeks' term of school in Athol in accordance with the provision in the college catalogue of those days: "Students are allowed to

teach school each year twelve weeks including the nearest vacation if their pecuniary circumstances absolutely require it." In summer vacations he worked in the hay field. One memory of his experiences was transmuted into a suggestive illustration for his students when he wished to impress the need of thorough preparation for life work. "Sometimes," he would say, "I found myself a little late in starting out to mow, and would think I could not afford to stop to grind my scythe — only to discover that I must either fall behind the other mowers, or stop work and grind at a time in the day when it was most important to be in the field."

The entrance requirements of that day exacted about a year's less work than those of the present time, and the college course was simplicity itself compared with a modern university scheme. Greek and Latin and mathematics were practically the course of the first three years, with three exceptions: chemistry had a term in Sophomore year and could be continued as an elective; natural philosophy had a similar opportunity in Junior year, and there was a chance to learn the rudiments of modern languages. With Senior year the balance shifted. Philosophy had the first place and was attended by shorter courses in English, geology, and a limited range of electives. Not a course was offered in history and but a term's work in political economy. The literatures of modern times were scarcely studied at all, and the sciences had meagre laboratory equipment. During the first year Garman was at something of a disadvantage because of entering late, and "did not arouse in us a suspicion of his future greatness," writes a classmate. "When we struck chemistry, Sophomore year, he found his

delight. Professor Harris in chemistry and Professor Snell in natural philosophy found him an eager pupil." His success in these studies and in physiology was attested by the awards of the Porter Prize in natural philosophy, the first prize in chemistry, and the Sawyer Medal in anatomy and physiology. "Junior year we discovered that we had a prodigious worker who had n't a lazy bone in him, and during the last two years he made marvelous strides. And Senior year in Professor J. H. Seelye's room we sat aghast at the recitations of — and Garman. Yard after yard they would reel off *verbatim* and yet know and understand the thought. Through all the course Garman was a true man and social — so far as he could spare the time. But he was never a 'gadder' or a 'gabbler.'"

Garman did not share largely in other than the intellectual activity of college life. As he sometimes regretfully said in later life, he had not learned to play. There had been no opportunity for it in earlier years, and the combined demands of the class room and of self-support gave little chance for it in college. Even friendship and conversation, which were so prized by him later, found no large cultivation at this time. He belonged to no fraternity. He devoted himself unsparingly to study. Another classmate, Professor John B. Clark, writes on this point: "It is probable that no one saw Garman in the way that would cause great intimacy to develop, though I think all liked him, as I certainly did. My solution of the problem of his slightly isolated position was, at the time, his enormous industry, which made it impossible for him to give time to social intercourse. He learned the lessons assigned in Hickok's textbooks — and in other works — *verbatim et literatim*, and it consumed time

to the exclusion of almost everything else. It was a common remark that if the editions of Hickok's works were totally destroyed Garman could restore them without change of a word." Of the work in Philosophy and of the general impression made by Garman upon his classmates, Professor Clark continues: "Men who learn things by rote pay the penalty by having their own power of thought distrusted; and it is, rather than otherwise, a proof of Garman's power that we did perceive it in a measure, in spite of his mode of learning and reciting. He did much in the way of questioning and discussing, and it was through this that we were made to see that he had a clear understanding of the meaning of the text that he recited, and was even studying it somewhat critically. He seemed to accept it as true *in toto*, but to give it a thorough examination before doing so. His graduating speech was an earnest plea for the main point of Hickok's psychology — the supremacy of the 'reason' over the 'understanding' and the absolute need of the intuitive faculty. It was, in part, his discipleship which hid from us the power of his own thought. It seemed to us that a man who could think effectively for himself would find in Hickok more to dissent from. '*Ille se profecisse sciat cui Hickok valde placebit.*' I give the Latin from memory and with uncertainty as to its correctness. Garman thought deeply enough to catch the truths which less thorough students missed. All the same he may have taken the system, in the end, rather too completely. It was good for him afterwards to make a sympathetic study of Herbert Spencer.

"Garman took the philosophical prize without competition. President Seelye urged Herbert Adams and

myself to enter the contest for the sake of making rivalry; but we knew that no one could do more than (1) to repeat text and lecture with absolute correctness, and (2) to defend the philosophy against objections. It would have been impossible for any one to be, in the eyes of our honored instructor, as good a philosopher as he should be, if he had misgivings as to the system taught."

As already referred to in Professor Clark's letter, the subject of Garman's graduating oration was "The Spiritual Philosophy." In grade his was the Philosophical oration, ranking him fourth in the list. Before graduation he considered a position in Robert College, Constantinople, but while he was taking time to decide, the place was filled. He wrote home: "I doubt not you will be glad to know that I delayed my decision too long. I think it was a very fine offer, yet it may be all for the best. I tried to find what was the will of God, and think he has directed the result."

No other position offered itself until the following April, when President Stearns recommended him to the principalship of the Ware high school. That so capable a scholar, who had also had experience in teaching, should have to wait for an opportunity may serve to encourage some who do not easily find their place. Garman had no apprenticeship to serve. He entered upon his work with the energy and lavish devotion of time and money which characterized his later teaching. The staff of instructors consisted of the principal and one assistant. The town authorities did not feel justified in making provision for a full college preparatory course. But there were a number of boys and girls who wished to go to college. To those who knew Mr. Garman's later methods with

college students his method of meeting the situation will occasion no surprise. He used to meet the boys and girls preparing for college in special recitations before and after regular sessions, beginning, tradition says, at six in the morning. Out of nine girls who made up the Freshman class entering Smith College in 1876 three were fitted by Mr. Garman. In accordance with his own college interests he greatly enlarged the work in natural science in the school, introducing laboratory methods so far as the facilities allowed, and devising apparatus for simple experiments. He also conducted a course in "mental science" in which some of the great problems of the world and of life were suggested, and Plato was made a real personage. Above all, the dignity, the seriousness, the spiritual elevation of the man made its impression upon the attitude of the whole school. One student speaks especially of the devotional exercises which invested religion with a new and different significance for many of the children. Another, Professor Perkins of the University of Tennessee, after dwelling on the intellectual stimulus he gave, says: "Yet his influence with his pupils was less as a teacher than as a friend. The best lessons that he taught were not those in the book, and after school days were over, when vacation brought us back to our homes, his advice and counsel continued to guide us.

"It may seem impossible that with all the work which he did for the school, besides the part which he took in the life of the church and of the town, he should have had any time for thought along other directions, yet those who knew him best knew that even when most busy he did not allow himself to be occupied wholly by the daily round of duties. He

was already reading, studying, and thinking on the philosophical questions which were to occupy his later years. It was characteristic of the youthful spirit and vigor of the man that he could pursue these investigations on subjects which were to him of absorbing interest, and which required his closest thought, without withdrawing his sympathies from the duties incident to his position as school principal."

The School Committee in its annual reports bore testimony to Mr. Garman's success. "Under his instruction the school has been preëminently successful. Untiring in effort, thorough as a teacher, with a fund of information and illustration given in connection with the lessons, he awakens in the minds of the scholars a thirst for knowledge." The report for the second year says: "Those who attended the closing examinations and the exhibition of the graduating class are aware of the splendid results of the year's labor, but few who have not been teachers themselves can have any idea of the labor, the fidelity, and the high qualifications by which such results are reached. Special attention is given to the study of Chemistry, for which the new laboratory affords good facilities, and of Natural Philosophy." In the third report: "Of the principal it is needless to speak, as all are agreed as to his merits, yet we believe comparatively few are aware of his entire devotion to his work, leading him to give to it not only all his time and strength, but even to expend for the school a large fraction of his salary." One sees here foreshadowed the later methods and the later success.

The benefit had not been all on one side. The teacher had found his vocation, and experienced some of its satisfactions. A little later he wrote: "The

moral excellence, the personal loveliness of the pupil is the true crown of glory to a teacher. As well instruct a brute as a child, if the beauty of manhood or womanhood does not unfold, if no ambition, no aspiration after a noble life is awakened, if there are no bright dreams of the future. It has long been known that certain plastic substances brought in contact with mother-of-pearl and allowed time to harden will take on its own variegated splendor. To impress one's self thus on an immortal being — an impression time can never efface — may well excite the envy of angels in Heaven. It is immortality." And again in language that shows the fondness for simile so characteristic of later years: "With a teacher *vacation* is like the moments when an artist lays down his brush and *steps back* to look upon his finished painting. Such a work of art is the past term. Life-like and complete it now hangs on memory's walls. To take in all its parts, to catch its perfect beauty, it must be viewed from a little distance. How different every feature seems when perfectly lighted! Rest and pleasure are the only windows through which such light can enter; but time is needed ere its true richness will appear. Some of the colors are pale at first but deepen with age, some of your work does not appear at all now — some instruction is like invisible ink, it's all there but it takes a chemical process to bring it out. It will take the chemistry of years and of the experience of life before the true results of your influence on the students will show. You can see only the outlines of your picture now. There's more in it, infinitely more, than you have ever dared to dream. The beauty of future manhood and womanhood are your work. There is a halo of fame around the memory of Phidias and

Raphael, but ages and ages after their works have all crumbled to dust this shall endure in its eternal freshness, for the material is immortal. This is the only true art, for it shall decorate the 'Heavenly City.' I am a regular Socrates in my estimation of a successful teacher."

At the close of the spring term of 1876 Mr. Garman announced to the scholars his intention to enter Yale Divinity School the following autumn. Just how far he looked toward a future career in philosophy at this time cannot be stated with confidence. President Seelye once said to the writer in reply to a query as to whether Mr. Garman took his theological course as a preparation for what turned out to be his vocation: "Perhaps he did not have it in mind so definitely for himself as I had it in mind for him." At that time there was indeed practically no graduate instruction in philosophy in this country. A theological course was the natural introduction to the subject. And at any rate there was the personal factor. President Seelye had been the greatest single personal factor in Mr. Garman's college course. This was not due exclusively to his commanding intellectual and personal qualities. The college course of that day contained, as we have noted, scarcely a trace of the economic, historical, political, and social sciences which now appeal to the eager student. The Latin, Greek, and mathematics had early at Amherst given a place to natural science, but Professor Burgess had not yet entered upon that brief occupancy of the chair of political science which attracted so many Amherst men into that and related fields. Philosophy was therefore almost the only study which touched this great sphere. Professor Seelye drew upon these larger

areas, and with his wide reading, his extraordinary memory, and his great interest in affairs, he made philosophy a subject which corresponded more nearly to the chair of an Adam Smith or a Hegel than to the more highly specialized and often artificially limited subject of more recent years. It may easily have been the case that Garman felt the attraction of this field, and knowing that Seelye had entered it through the gate of theology, conceived this to be the obvious path.

Yale Divinity School numbered among its faculty several eminent scholars who undoubtedly exercised an important influence upon Garman's development. A conversation when he was professor at Amherst with a student who asked his advice as to preparation for philosophical work gives some basis for estimating the chief aspects of this influence. In the first place he mentioned a discipline which would probably not occur to most in such a connection. "In the work of exegesis," he said, "you will be engaged in a field in which some of the ablest minds have striven for centuries to determine the meaning of Scripture. You will find this training in analysis of thought and statement, in discriminating possible meanings and weighing the evidence for the more probable, a most valuable preparation for interpretation and criticism of philosophic writing." That the subject seemed so valuable to him was doubtless due largely to the fact that it was represented in the School by so candid, thoroughgoing, and scholarly an investigator as Professor (later President) Timothy Dwight.

The field of theology as conceived by Professor Samuel Harris, author of the *Philosophical Basis of Theism* and *Self Revelation of God* was largely phi-

losophy under another name. Dr. Harris combined to an unusual degree a philosophic temper with a sense for literary value which led him to draw on a wide range of experience for illustration. Above all, there was a fineness of spirit, which illumined his face and vitalized the doctrine which he taught.

George Park Fisher, the third of the group by which Mr. Garman was chiefly influenced, is known to many as the erudite historian, but this was not what most impressed Garman. "There is a man," said he, "who will take his thinking into the class room and do it before you." Every one who has been a student in that class room will recall occasions which bear out this testimony, although there was a marked difference between the body of the lecture and the discussion which often followed — at least this was true in the later years. As the body of the lecture, Professor Fisher usually read the lucid and comprehensive material which from time to time appeared in published works. The style and method of presentation were on the whole adapted rather to instruction than to challenge and awaken thought, save as the character of the subject-matter inevitably had such an effect. The real power of the man was seen when some student of unusually penetrating mind or radical tendency challenged boldly the fundamental premises of a historic doctrine, or even of a Christian or religious view of the world. Then Professor Fisher was likely to abandon the ordinary defenses of apologetics, and show the resources of a mind which had both mastered the great systems of those who know, and had itself tried to think things through afresh. Whether questioner and class were completely convinced or not, they could scarcely fail to see the problem in

broader perspective, and to feel a greater respect for the considerations which have led men to formulate from age to age their faith in the unseen and eternal.

But over and above the influence of particular instructors was the general spirit of the school.

Judged by what they held as the results of their study the faculty would now probably be regarded as conservative. But the method of reaching the results was of more fundamental importance than the specific results reached. There was a spirit of inquiry, a disposition to go back to the sources, a confidence in the reasonableness of what was held, and in the ability of the mind to discover the truth by study and reflection. All this made the atmosphere favorable to the development of one of the most prominent characteristics of Garman's attitude as teacher.

It is scarcely necessary to say that Garman threw himself into the work of the school with his usual intensity of application. The impression he made upon his fellow students is seen in the following letter from a classmate, the Rev. Clarence S. Sargent:

"I recall Garman as he came to the class room in that first week. The dark, straight hair and dark, deep-set eyes and square shoulders produced no impression on me beyond the fact that an able man might be in my class. But early in the session, — perhaps the second day, — Professor Fisher asked us to read fifty pages in his book, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, and the next day called on Garman to recite first. Garman began with the first line and went through to the end of the hour *verbatim et literatim*. After that the class would at times open their books and see if he left out a 'the' or an 'and.' Another surprise awaited us in Professor Day's class

in Hebrew. In that first week Professor Day referred to some rule which we would find after many days in the last part of the Hebrew grammar. He misquoted the rule, however, and Garman called his attention to the fact, quoted it correctly and also the exception. We asked him after class how he knew that rule. He replied, 'I read the Hebrew grammar through this summer while I was resting.'

"This power of memorizing, which so often injures a man, was in Garman a blessing, for he simply collected materials in a great storehouse and when he wished he used them to build systems or to destroy false theories. Within a month he was the acknowledged leader and scholar of the class. Others of the older men confided to me the fact of the hope they had of winning the Hooker prize scholarship offered to our class, but after the first few weeks all recognized the fact that this belonged to Garman if he chose to continue through the course.

"He was always pleasant, but he associated with but few of the class or of the school. He would come over to my room and want to take a long walk, and as he walked would open to me not only the Scriptures, but the whole realm where he reigned. He would take the wrong side and prove the impossible, and then smile as I floundered in the quicksand of the corner where he had pushed me till I cried for mercy. I can but compare him with Socrates in those hours. Once he proved beyond dispute that the bottom of a carriage wheel when it touched the ground went faster than the top. Then suddenly he would turn from fun to fact and would discuss the theology of Harris or the conclusions of Fisher with an ability I have never seen surpassed, if ever equaled.

“He was hungry for the fun of life, and though he was a cheerful, happy man, yet ever and again he would reveal the fact that life had been too earnest for him and he had been starved for fun. I wish I could recall how he expressed it, but I can only state the fact. At times he would plan a practical joke for a surprise to the whole of East Divinity Hall, and when we met the next day he would tell the tale with all the eagerness of a boy. But the joke he played had no stab of pain for any one; it was pure, happy fun.

“Men did not often hear Garman pray, but when you did hear him you were lifted into the higher realms of vision and of thought. The content and the vehicle were fitted to each other. He was in the mountain with God while the world played round their golden idols in the plain, but he was not with Moses only, but with Christ, and his face shone as one who had received the law of God through the love of Christ.”

Dr. Timothy Dwight writes in reply to an inquiry as to the impression which the faculty had of Mr. Garman:

“The years have carried away the details of the memories of the old life, and have left behind the impression of the manhood in its largeness and fullness. I am, however, in fresh and ever enduring remembrance of the mental power which he manifested in those days of his early manhood, and of the confidence which we who were professors in the Divinity School had in his future so long as his life should last. My own impression of him is that he was a man of originality when he was in the Seminary — that he was not simply a learner but a man who thoroughly digested and made his own what he learned. He

seemed to me to stand quite above the level of ordinary intellectual men and to give promise as a student of the success which he attained in subsequent years. He was by no means a self-displaying man, but was a genuine man of intellectual force worthy of all the reputation which he afterward secured."

At the graduation exercises in 1879 Garman's part was entitled "The Christian Armor," and his thesis was upon "The Antiquity of Man." He was awarded the Hooker Fellowship, which he prized highly, both as an official recognition of the character of his work and because of the opportunity it made possible for two years of further study. He held the Fellowship only one year because of his appointment at Amherst at the end of that time, but this year marked a second epoch in his philosophical development, as his Senior year at Amherst had been its beginning. For an account of this important year we are fortunate in the following sympathetic and penetrating analysis from Professor John E. Russell of Williams College:

"My association with Professor Garman as a student at Yale was of an altogether too short duration. I entered the Yale Divinity School in the autumn of 1879 to complete my Theological Course, which had been begun at Andover some years previous. Professor Garman had completed the course for the degree of B. D., and was taking graduate courses as a Fellow in Theology. By the courtesy of the faculty I was permitted to take some graduate courses in addition to those which were requisite for the first degree in Theology; and this privilege gave me the opportunity of being associated with Professor Garman in common studies. A course had been recently established by Professor Timothy Dwight, a critical

examination of the Synoptic Gospels — the central problem being their relations to each other and their probable mode of origin. This course, under the conduct of Professor Dwight, was a most interesting — really fascinating — and most valuable study. It was so conducted as to give entire freedom, to stimulate independence of judgment and a fearless inquiry, and to encourage broad and dispassionate views of our New Testament Scriptures.

“It was while engaged in this study that I came to know Professor Garman, and to discover for myself what others had told me — that I had for a classmate a man of rare and unique qualities of mind and personality. I was then impressed by those same traits which distinguished my fellow student in later years; the combination of great analytic powers with a strongly constructive bent. Garman would pull things to pieces with a seemingly remorseless passion for analysis and clear seeing of the parts. He seemed at times to put a question mark after every accepted truth or doctrine; he seemed willing to go the mile with the doubter without fear of being compelled to go the twain: but I soon saw that my friend was only seeing the foundation for a new and firmer synthesis, a larger and better constructed whole wherein the warring fragments should dwell in peace because bound in unity. Garman, the student, so believed in Truth that his quest for her was absolutely without fear; what he feared and deprecated most was a hasty and superficial solution of the great problems of faith, and therefore it was that he would patiently and with open mind wait till all that doubt could say had been heard, ere he deemed the case closed and the verdict safe because fully honest and clear as to evidence.

Garman was never in a hurry to reach a conclusion: he would give full recognition to those minute and subtle elements in every great question which minds less keen and less sensitive to finer considerations pass by unheeding or willfully ignore. I always noted that my fellow student was following a positive and constructive impulse and direction. He was always shaping the data in preparation for a more secure because a wider judgment; and if he reached it only after much delay and inward debate, it was only to hold his new possession secure from those misgivings which an honest mind always suffers when it has failed to 'prove all things' ere it 'held fast' what it judged to be good.

"In addition to this study of the Synoptic Gospels, Professor Garman was at that time studying Mr. Herbert Spencer's *First Principles*. I think in this study Garman was his own teacher, or rather there were but Mr. Spencer and himself engaged in that study. The method he followed was characteristic of him in later years as well. He gave the most careful and minute examination to every statement, nay to every word or term of any importance; maintaining always the purely inquiring attitude; never permitting himself to close the examination so long as there remained a proposition or an important word the full meaning of which was not clear to him and which he had not fully weighed: days of hardest study were spent on a single paragraph. I doubt if Mr. Spencer ever had a more thorough, patient, and unprejudiced student of his philosophy. I think it was in this — his first independent effort in philosophy — that Professor Garman displayed those qualities which marked his career as teacher. The ability to give the most

abstract principle or idea a concrete presentation; the power to resolve a complex and highly intricate thought into elements so simple and so lucidly stated that no mind could fail to get at least a clear fragment if not the whole; a faculty of so illustrating his thought that whatever at first seemed remote and unintelligible stood out clear and tangible and clothed with a compelling interest.

“Garman was, I think, always a teacher in reality. His interest in truth was that of a teacher even when he was a student. He seemed to play the double rôle of student and teacher: he compelled himself to see every truth, every problem, from those two points of view. Garman’s ambition was to be more than a scholar: his scholarship he would make the medium of his personality. Truth had always in his estimation a service beyond itself: he was always seeing through every truth he gained to its possible uses in some ministry to his fellow men.

“I have always regretted that my opportunities for association with Professor Garman outside our common studies were so limited. Garman was a close student; he gave himself little relaxation from study; and the state of his health often necessitated his being housed for days at a time. Almost the only occasions when I enjoyed the lighter play of his thoughts and the less serious intercourse with him were on those evenings when a small company of us used to meet in a purely informal way, to talk over whatever subjects connected with our studies or reading were of common interest. Garman’s contribution to this club were characterized by a keen insight, a fine critical sense, a delicious humor at times, and always by the readiest and kindest appreciation of whatever he

recognized as an honest endeavor to reach truth or to be serviceable to one's fellow men. Garman's ever genial spirit and quick responsiveness to whatever note was struck in our little gathering, made him a delightful companion. Our meetings were always brightened by his presence and we knew we had lost much when he was not with us, so rich was our club-fellow in those fine, but intangible qualities which make their possessor a welcome presence.

"To those who knew Professor Garman as a student at Yale, his subsequent career at Amherst, the wonderful influence he exerted over his students, their affection for him, their reverence even, their devotion, and the indelible stamp of his personality upon them, were no surprise. These great powers were ripening within him during those formative years, and they gave no doubtful indication of that high and unique place among our best educators which Garman was destined to fill."

As has already been suggested, President Seelye had been watching Mr. Garman's studies. In the midst of the second year at Yale Mr. Garman wrote to his mother under date of January 8, 1878: "I met President Seelye at Palmer on his way to New York. We both took the same train and had a very pleasant visit for about three hours. He asked me how I would like to come up to Amherst next spring and teach the Seniors the History of Philosophy. This is his own department, but extra work makes him very busy. This would be equivalent to taking his place for the summer term. I feel that that was the highest compliment I ever received. He did not intend it as anything more than for that one term, nor did he really offer it to me, though, if I had been

ready, I think he would have. Of course I refused, for it is the highest and hardest place in college, and I am in no respect prepared on that branch, but it gave me a new stimulus and hope that when I am ready for work some place, wherever it is 'His' will that it should be, will open for me. Sometimes my whole life seems to depend on the present and especially on the next year and a half. I hope you all will remember me in prayer very often. The coming terms are the ones to tell and I am very anxious to do my best. I have pretty good health and courage now."

Although this earlier possible opening at Amherst was declined, Garman was glad to accept a later offer when he was ready for the position. This came in 1880, when he became Walker Instructor in Mathematics, with the understanding that the position was a temporary one, leading to work in philosophy.

As Walker Instructor he taught the Freshman class in geometry and a part of the Sophomore class in analytics. Two impressions survive in the writer's memory of that autumn term. First, that somehow we felt a little older in that class room than elsewhere. Its atmosphere of dignity seemed to invite and almost compel the Freshman, wavering between boyishness and manhood, to forget the one and assume the other. The second memory is of a talk on methods and habits of study given at the close of the term. The system of giving the student the responsibility for his attendance upon college exercises, or as the student was apt to phrase it, of allowing every man to cut one tenth, had just been introduced that term. Naturally some students were more interested in the freedom to take cuts than in the increased responsibility and oppor-

tunity for self-control. Among other topics Garman touched on this. "I am sometimes asked by a student, 'Can I afford to take cuts?' Let us imagine the tree outside as asking, 'Can I afford to lose my leaves?' We should answer in this case, 'That depends. If the leaves are torn off here and there by some gust of wind or other external cause, it probably will not mean serious injury. But if the leaves loosen and drop off, because something is the matter with the life of the tree, then the symptom is a grave one.'"

Work as a teacher of philosophy began in the winter term with an elective section of the Senior class. Speaking at a later time of the changed academic conditions, Mr. Garman remarked, as if the fact were almost incredible: "That class studied Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* and took it straight, following the text in regular course. I should n't think of attempting such a plan with a class now. They would simply balk." At the close of the year Mr. Garman was appointed Instructor in Philosophy, in 1882 Associate Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, in 1889 Professor of Mental Philosophy, and in 1892 the words "and Moral" were inserted in his title.

In the summer of 1882 he was married to Miss Eliza N. Miner, daughter of Dr. David Worthington Miner of Ware, who had been a fellow teacher in the Ware high school during the last year of Mr. Garman's principalship. The home then established became in an unusual degree incorporated with the life of the college, not by large gatherings but by the welcome it offered to the students, who found the class hour, even when lengthened by questions after class, all too short for explanation and discussion.

The years that followed were marked by few incidents. His success as a teacher had been extraordinary from the beginning, and there was no doubt among his friends that this was the field for his largest usefulness. But it was natural that his unusual influence upon young men should attract the attention of colleges in search of presidential material. For in spite of the growing tendency to consider other qualifications — financial, executive, social — as more important, an old ideal still maintains itself with some. According to this ideal the college president stands before the student body first of all as embodying the meaning of education. To scholarly enthusiasm and well-trained powers he should add broad sympathy, wise counsel, and moral earnestness. He should have the influence of a teacher, but more. For through his position he is invested with more than his personal dignity. He represents in even fuller degree than other teachers the value of education as the community estimates it. He has the opportunity to present this value to young men with exceptional power. A New England college, a Western endowed college, and a Western state university in succession sought Professor Garman as head, presumably because they were seeking a man of his type to inspire and counsel their students. But the office of college president necessarily has other duties, and after considering one of these invitations Professor Garman wrote, "The more I think the matter over the more I see my heart could not be given over to the work of a president. No one ought to take the position who would not make it first in his thoughts and plans. It does not seem to me that I am ambitious to accomplish any other success than to send out students thoroughly

inspired with the principles of a spiritual and thoroughly Christian philosophy and ethics.”

Another call which was more favorably entertained was to the chair of philosophy in the University of Michigan in 1894. Indeed, Professor Garman presented his resignation to the Amherst Board of Trustees at its June meeting in order that he might accept this call, and in spite of the terrors of moving and of entering upon new work had resolved to make the change. Into the conditions which made it seem to him desirable to leave Amherst it is not necessary to enter here. But it would be impossible not to recall the feeling excited among the alumni, especially the younger alumni who had been his students, when it became known that there was danger of his going. It was nothing less than dismay. Nor were the authorities of the college less disturbed. A most unfortunate situation existed at the time, and the Trustees urged very strongly upon Professor Garman that if he should leave it would be most embarrassing, and even disastrous to the college. Finally the resignation was withdrawn, and thereafter no question of leaving Amherst was seriously considered.

The kind of teaching which Garman did left little time for anything else. During the earlier years he was frequently invited to preach; in particular the students expressed the desire that he would speak from the college pulpit. But he never yielded to this latter request, judging that his message was best suited to his class room. In the autumn of 1884 he taught the course in philosophy at Smith College, and a characterization of his work will be given later from two of his students who occupy chairs of philosophy and psychology in Wellesley and Smith. In 1898 he

accepted invitations to address the Yale Divinity School, and to give the Carew lecture at Hartford Seminary. Sabbatical years afforded opportunity for two trips to Europe and one extended tour in the Northwest. He was urged to publish, and at times seemed to think of this as a possibility. But the condition of his health and a feeling that after all his was the message that could be given only in person combined to hold him to the class room. Two years before his death he wrote to a former student: "No, I have not published yet. I have not got the course where it will go of itself without the inspiration of the class room. I sometimes comfort myself with the thought that the teacher publishes an edition in every class that graduates, and that perhaps to imprint a truth on the hearts of young men will do as much good in the community as to print it in book form. The book can be hidden away in the library shelves; that is lighting a candle and putting it under a bushel. But you cannot hide away an Amherst student; that is lighting a candle and putting it on a candlestick where it gives light to the whole house. Some of my students are a little better than that; they are real arc lights. Two teachers in antiquity, Christ and Socrates, left no manuscripts behind. Would their influence have been greater if they had published a dozen volumes? I do not feel that I can neglect the class room for the public, yet I do hope to publish."

The work of instruction, as Garman conducted it, was indeed enormous. In his earlier years as instructor the course in philosophy was in part required — five hours a week through Senior year — and in part elective — five hours a week for the winter term. The Senior class numbered ordinarily from eighty to

a hundred, necessitating two sections for effective work. After a few years, at Professor Garman's request, the work in philosophy was made elective. But this made little difference. Practically the whole Senior class elected the course at the outset, and it was difficult to keep the applicants for the advanced work down to a number that could be handled in one section. Then the time in the class room was never limited by the bell. It was the usual thing for a group of students to stay with questions for which there had not been time or fitting opportunity in the class hour, and these later discussions frequently lasted another hour. Nor was this all. Attendance upon other classes would prevent some from availing themselves of the period after the regular hour, or the larger questions raised might find such an occasion unsuited to their satisfactory discussion. And so to many there rises in memory the picture of which one alumnus writes, "his library filled with from eight to twelve men after ten o'clock eager to receive the aid which he was so ready to give." "How patient he was with us when we took up his time," writes another, "and how lavishly he spent himself."

Another instrument of effective teaching which likewise consumed a great deal of time was the practice of careful correction of written work. For examinations and marking he had little interest except to be fair to the student. But upon the written work required from day to day, or whenever a difficult position was to be mastered, Garman spent a great deal of painstaking labor. When the student found that a general idea, to say nothing of a general "bluff," was not sufficient he was gradually led to reconstruct his whole plan of work, and method of thought. And

finally, the following instance illustrates the spirit which knew no limits, even if precisely such an occasion for its manifestation might not often arise. "A full year after my graduation," writes one alumnus, "when I was in New York City and my own further thinking was apparently leading me away from some of the things that he had taught, he wrote asking me to come up to Amherst and talk it over with him. I went; and for a week, morning after morning, he spent a full forenoon with me, patiently going over it with me until I saw my mistake and was pointed right again."

It was to commemorate the untiring and single-hearted devotion of such service, no less than the extraordinary results it achieved, that some of his students conceived the thought of celebrating Professor Garman's twenty-fifth anniversary as teacher of philosophy by the presentation to him and his wife of a volume of Studies in Philosophy and Psychology as a *Festschrift*. All who had held academic positions in philosophy, or had taken the Doctorate with philosophy as principal subject, or had published in this field, were invited to contribute. Out of eighteen who were eligible on this basis five for various reasons were unable to accept. The proposal met a cordial response from the alumni, who subscribed for about seven hundred copies. The presentation at the alumni dinner afforded the occasion for a remarkable expression of enthusiasm. The address of presentation and Professor Garman's reply are reproduced later in this volume. The feature in the commemorative volume which, as was anticipated by the editors, was most welcomed by the alumni and most commented upon in the various notices of the book,

was Professor Garman's own letter to President G. S. Hall. Although this had been printed before, it had appeared in a technical journal and few of the alumni had seen it. It was especially gratifying to the authors of the volume that whatever the measure of criticism passed upon the various papers by the reviewers, there was uniform appreciation by the foremost men in the field throughout the country for the kind of work which the volume was intended to commemorate. Comments by Professors James of Harvard, Dewey of Columbia, Angell and Moore of Chicago, and Lovejoy of Washington University are reprinted in the Appendix. The sad event of the next year proved that this tribute was but just in time to tell more formally what was so well known within the Amherst circle.

As a boy and young man Garman had a strong physique and vigorous health. Through his college course and during his years at Ware his endurance was equal to any strain which his insatiable passion for work placed upon it. But while in New Haven he was subject to an affection of the throat, and this organ was ever afterwards sensitive to infection. Attacks of grippe in 1890 weakened his system and subsequently any "cold" was likely to be attended by bronchial trouble. Many times he would rise from bed to attend a class and be obliged to return to bed as soon as class work for the day was over. Anxiety as to a work which had so much of personal relation and involved such important religious questions naturally increased the strain. But he had successfully weathered so many periods of weakness and even of acute disease that his friends hoped for many years of usefulness when they heard him in the Gymnasium on Commencement day of 1906. In the following

winter, however, he was attacked with unusual severity by what was at first regarded as grippe. A chill occasioned alarm and an examination showed the presence of streptococcus infection of a severe type arising in the pharynx. The system had not the resisting power to withstand and overcome the attack, and on the morning of the ninth of February, at half-past four, he passed on.

The hundreds of letters which came to Mrs. Garman told nearly all the same story. "The greatest teacher I ever had," was the tribute of many who had studied under brilliant men in this and other countries. "I owe more to him than to any man except my own father," was another frequent expression. "I hoped my boys would have the opportunity of coming under his influence," was a common tribute which suggests a deep-going feeling that Garman had not only awakened and interested but had really built something into the permanent structure of the fathers' lives. Some of the printed tributes are included in this volume. They were mainly by those of his students who had made philosophy their profession. But it is needless to say that this group were not more helped for their future work than were those who entered other professions or a business career. Indeed, the main stress of his later years seemed to fall upon the problems which he conceived to be most vital to the business man as citizen. A lawyer's letter is typical. "Aside from the vital truths taught in his class room the student received a training in properly handling any intellectual problem which was of the utmost importance. To a man going into the law school, for instance, the training received in his class room was more valuable than that received in any other course

because it enabled a student to analyze an obscure legal opinion and separate the unessential from the essential." "From no other instructor in the colleges that send students to Hartford do we receive men approximately so well fitted in philosophy for theological work," was the testimony of an instructor who had not himself been a student of Professor Garman. A business man of the class of '81, the first class which Garman instructed in philosophy, writes, "Again and again in the course of a long and active business life his keen ethical insight and his calm, strong personality have made the decisions easier and more certain. It was not only what he said, — his clear, wise vision of the world of sense and soul, that made a man feel he would do his best, — but it was what he *was* himself that made his thoughts and ideals so impress themselves on young and thoughtless men that they became a part of their lives."

Such tributes could be matched over and over again did space permit. As one reads them, coming in equal measure from the first and the later classes, coming from every profession and occupation, and all witnessing, not to the interest of an hour or a term, but to an influence lasting through life, and not to the value of information received, but to a genuine change of mental and moral attitude which made all life different, he cannot help feeling a profounder impression than could come from any single experience, however strong. The man who could mean so much to so many men could not be other than great. Men do not yield such recognition to minds and hearts of lesser power.

II

Professor Garman's friends need no extended analysis of his character and methods; and his own papers printed in this volume, especially his letter to President Hall, supply the best commentary. The tributes which appeared after his death present various aspects of his work, but it may be permitted to reproduce at this point a statement as to some of the conditions which determined his method.¹

The determining note in Professor Garman's teaching of philosophy was his conception of philosophy. It was not for him primarily a subject to be studied for its own sake. One might say it was not studied as a subject at all. He believed that every man who thinks at all must sooner or later face the alternatives which are represented in general by a spiritual or a materialistic view of the world and of human action. He conceived it his task to aid young men in facing the problem squarely, and with a method for its solution. For this purpose he selected his material, planned the order of subjects, and developed the technique of his instruction.

As regards the first, the material of his course, his aim required him to exclude whatever did not bear pretty directly upon the present vital issue. He introduced into his course much material from the history of philosophy on the one hand and from physiological psychology on the other. But it never was introduced *as* history or *as* an interesting process or experiment *per se*. He gave a profound and illuminating treatment to Berkeley, Hume, and Kant, but it was

¹ What follows is reproduced, with additions from a paper printed in *The Journal of Philosophy, Psychology, and Scientific Methods*, May 9, 1907.

because he thought the present-day student could grapple with the critical problem most sturdily if he worked with the masters, or as he was fond of saying, "stood on their shoulders." He took up problems of hypnotism, morbid psychology, or psychophysics, in order that students might know the concrete conditions of the relations between mind and body and not speculate vaguely or sentimentalize in place of thinking. Positively, his selection of material changed with the focus of the general thinking of the country. When he began his work in 1881, New England, particularly the strata from which Amherst College drew its students, was in a period of religious transition. It was no longer a controversy between Orthodox and Unitarian; it was a fundamental issue between a religious or a non-religious view of the world and life. On the one hand, both the older Scottish intuitionism and the Emerson transcendentalism were seemingly relegated to the past by the restatement of agnosticism in Spencer's *First Principles*; on the other hand, the doctrine of evolution as interpreted by Spencer, and in Tyndall's Belfast Address of '74, seemed to make matter and force the ultimate reality. As a reënforcement, Spencer's dream theory of the origin of religion seemed not only to the dogmatic theologian, but even to the sincere student, to carry the consequence that religion was only an illusion or a devil worship. Protests were publicly made when Professor Sumner of Yale used Spencer's *Sociology* as a text for study. It is hard for the younger generation to realize how far we have come in two decades. But in the eighties these issues were in the air. Students had not clearly formulated them, but they responded strongly when the opportunity was afforded to deal candidly and

squarely with the real problems of the day. In the last decade of Garman's work the selection of material had been determined by another issue. He found that students were no longer troubled or interested to the same extent as formerly by questions of agnosticism and metaphysics. The social question was at the front, and this was made the focus of the course, although the question whether man has the ability and responsibility to judge by evidence, rather than by processes predetermined in purely mechanical fashion by brain paths, was still made the preliminary to further work. Writing to an alumnus in 1905, he said: "Very much of our course in philosophy we have dropped altogether, as the interest of the student is not primarily in theoretic discussions. The whole trend of the age has changed; the interest is not in description and explanation, but in action, achievement, in estimating the values. Now this work takes us more along the lines of sociology — the application of the fundamental principles of human life, the conduct of human relationship. My former course was the Old Testament, the law and the prophets; my present course is the New Testament, the gospels."

What this meant in detail and how the apparatus of modern psychology was utilized for the illumination of important problems in a thoroughly characteristic fashion, we see from the following statements by Professor Newlin:

"His students of earlier years had helped much to make it possible for him to develop the course along these newer lines. In the building up of a satisfactory psychological laboratory equipment, the contributions of the Class of 1883, of Mr. Henry D. Hyde, and of others of the alumni, were of great service.

Only the finest of apparatus was purchased, and delicate investigations became available to his classes as rapidly as the necessary apparatus could be supplied. His own mechanical interest found a vent in the development of the laboratory equipment and in the preparation of experiments; lacking a special room for a laboratory, and an assistant to help him, he lined the walls of his recitation room with cases for the delicate instruments and models, and spent hours of his time improving old apparatus and inventing and constructing new.

“Contributions from various friends and from the Phi Beta Kappa Society for books gave him a nucleus for his loan library to which he was continually adding. And when funds were lacking and the need of new books for distribution was great, Mr. Garman did not hesitate to purchase at his own expense many duplicate copies so that the students might have the latest material.

“But it was in the use he made of this material that his power as a teacher was again revealed. Introduced as part of an outline course, experiments with apparatus were necessarily employed as illustrations, rather than as training in laboratory technique, and every experimental illustration was as keenly and aptly chosen as were his verbal illustrations. He seemed to have a genius for selecting just the right experiment for the place, and for its instant application to the point at issue. For example, the usual reaction-time experiment became in his hands an actual test of a chauffeur's ‘presence of mind’ in an impending accident; and with steering wheel, horn, and brake the actual conditions were duplicated as closely as it was possible to do. And the immediate application of the

facts brought out in this experiment to labor problems, in those trades where rapidity in reaction is essential, gave to the results of the test a significance and importance which was impressive.

“And not alone in the experimental work did his intense practicality appear. The equipment of the loan library was such that the psychological study of Habit, Impulse, and Emotion was instantly supplemented with extracts from recent literature on social reform; psychological principles became embodied at once in such practical problems as the development of the slum child, the punishment of juvenile offenders, the treatment of the immigrant, or the effects of child labor. Similarly, in philosophy he not only taught the facts, but linked with them in the student’s mind continually and inseparably those questions of the day in which these principles are at the basis of the problem. So the students never felt that they were handling dead wood; every topic was alive and vital, and no matter how abstract in itself, was throbbing with the life infused into it through Mr. Garman’s power.

“In 1906 he received from alumni in New York, through Dr. John R. Herrick, the sum of \$500 for the purchase of a stereopticon and projection microscope of the highest grade. This gift put within his reach another valuable means of illustration and instruction. A set of slides given by Dr. James Ewing of particularly interesting pathological cases, and others obtained through Dr. Robert Osgood, were greatly appreciated by him for their value in the study of the brain. The slides he bought were chosen with infinite care; it must have promised much to him to be able to bring theory close to practice through photographic illus-

tration. That he appreciated these possibilities is clear. The slides he had secured, many of them most beautifully colored, reveal in the wide range of their subjects something of the wealth of illustration he was planning for his work. There was a complete set on child labor in mines, cotton mills, and glass works; a large number of slides to illustrate all forms of civic beauty and municipal betterment here and in Europe; photographic records of the establishment and development and benefits of parks and playgrounds; slides on the housing problem in the slums, on immigration, and the like; and in addition to these which might have been expected, many slides to illustrate industrial progress in manufactures and agriculture, showing the tremendous forces which scientific men are setting to work to bring about the 'Kingdom of God.'

"He saw through the present into the future; and to his students the pictures of progress he painted were almost prophetic. His prophecies never became visionary; he was too practical for that. But the completeness of his grasp of the underlying principles, which his long years of teaching and study had given him, and his wealth of information on present-day topics — the result of the widest kind of reading and personal investigation — together with a practical nature which sought always to embody the abstract in the concrete, combined to make his insight authoritative. Theological questions formed only a small part of his instruction. What the doctors and surgeons and bacteriologists were accomplishing, what scientific men were thinking about, what social reformers were working at and working for, — these were the things to which he opened his students' eyes that they might see what opportunities for service lay before them in

every walk of life. Even the questions given out from day to day took on this practical character. Lying, insurance, gambling, business, trusts, taxation were the problems which the students studied in their philosophical light and discussed in their broadest aspect. The men whom he sent out into the world had had a vision of the realities underlying appearances.

“The work of the last decade reveals some of his ambitions for his course; his teachings during this time emphasize the ripeness of his thought and judgment, as well as his marvelous alertness to the vital questions of the present and of the future; the ever-increasing scientific interest in true citizenship on the part of the graduates of these years is an indication of the power, the depth, and the practicality of his teaching. ‘Why is it,’ said the director of a school of civics and philanthropy last spring, ‘that in the number of college men interested in our work I find such a preponderance of Amherst graduates?’ The answer to that question is clear. And the question itself is an unconscious tribute to Mr. Garman’s teaching and eminent success.”

Returning from this account of the later years to consider more general aspects we note that though the centre of emphasis changed there was always a fundamental religious element in the course which corresponded to Garman’s deeply religious nature and to his religious conception of philosophy. The constant use of biblical imagery was a symbol of the fact that for him to think of any subject philosophically meant to invest it with all the emotion as well as with all the significance that belongs to a part when viewed in the light of the whole. Theism was for him the

solution of the problem of knowledge; the biblical history was a revelation of an unfolding divine plan; the New Testament doctrine "not to be ministered unto but to minister" was his central ethical principle; the conception of a change of heart was primary in his theory of social reform; the principles of divine sovereignty and atonement afforded in his judgment the true basis of human political society; the teaching of philosophy was an opportunity to show men the eternal and to aid in shaping their lives.

Nothing in his course was more difficult for some of the students to adjust themselves to than this interpenetration of philosophy, religion, and practical life. Those to whom religion had been cut off by watertight bulkheads, whether they cherished it as too sacred for scrutiny, or treated it with indifference as sentimental and "not for them," found Garman's attitude disturbing to old habits. But by the end of the course few of the latter class failed to gain a respect for religion as Garman interpreted it, and many in the former class found religion transformed from a treasure timidly guarded and carefully concealed to a vital power which itself should guard the values of daily life. To adopt in slightly different form one of his own metaphors, they were no longer the anxious disciples concerned for a dead body taken away, but bold apostles who had seen the vision of a risen Master, and believed him not a body to be protected, but a power that would itself protect and inspire.

The method of presenting his material was gradually developed. With his first class, as already noted, Kant's *Critique* was used as a basis for the study of the problem of knowledge. With a few succeeding classes Spencer's *First Principles* was made the text

in the elective course in the winter; while the required work of the year followed the outline used by President Seelye; viz., Hickok's *Empirical Psychology* (really a course in the theory of knowledge rather than a Psychology in the modern sense) in the autumn, *Moral Science* in the winter, and Schwegler's *History of Philosophy* in the spring. The difficulty in the use of Hickok as a text for undergraduates became more and more evident. "It presupposes a knowledge of the whole field," was Garman's comment. The first of the "pamphlets" which afterwards became so fundamental in the technique of the course were printed to elucidate — one might almost say, translate — portions of the text into language intelligible to the undergraduate.

There was a fundamental difference between President Seelye's and Professor Garman's methods of presenting the subject. "Give them the light first," was President Seelye's maxim, and he had achieved great results with the earlier generations of Amherst students. Garman became more and more convinced that the light of reason was not and could not be appreciated by the students of his day unless they were first awakened to feel their need of it. It was necessary, Garman believed, to show that darkness was dangerous, and that life might be shipwrecked if its master did not learn to take observations of the fixed stars. The logical results of typical attitudes were shown, and the futility of blinking or evading the issues was forced home, until a large proportion of the class were anxious to investigate and willing to work hard for their results. This preliminary process was naturally to a considerable degree negative. The old complaints made against Socrates were occasionally

heard. Partly for this reason, Professor Garman was at one time accustomed to ask his students not to discuss their work with others until they had reached the constructive portions — a caution which to those who did not understand the whole situation seemed to give a sort of esoteric character to the course.

It was an indication of the greatness of the two men that although President Seelye may never have come to believe in the method considered by itself, he believed in Garman, and was willing to judge the tree by the fruits. With the classes of '85 and '86 a freer treatment was given to the required course, and gradually the Hickok took its place as one among twenty or more authors that were used in the course. The classes of '86 and '87 under Professor Garman's direction and with the aid of his printing-press issued the *Amherst Papers in Philosophy*. The objective purpose was to make the papers written by the class available for use by other members of the class; the subjective value to the writers was perhaps the more important; but in any case they illustrated the enthusiasm which was aroused.

The main characteristic of Garman's method as method was the old "method of problems" which Socrates and Plato had employed. But in adapting it to college students at a time when the enrichment of the curriculum on the one hand, and the increased attention given to athletic and social interests on the other, made it increasingly difficult to hold the students to the thorough study of philosophy, he found in his system of pamphlets a most useful device. This he explains in his letter to President Hall. It meant a large expenditure of money from a moderate salary, and an enormous expenditure of time and

labor. The most vigorous and lucid statement of some phase of the problem in hand was to be made accessible to the class. Furthermore, only the problem was to be given — not the solution. This they must try to work out. Every one who conducts a laboratory course aims at something of this. But the usual technique in philosophy has been to rely for the classic problems upon the texts of the classic authors, and for modern problems upon lectures. This may answer for the mature student. But for large classes of undergraduates who are subject to all kinds of diversion, it is liable to objections.

To place in the hand of every student a complete copy of every author who has made some stimulating statement is expensive. To spend a class hour in writing lecture notes seems too archaic a method of spending the time to appeal to a modern undergraduate. On the other hand, while to listen to a lecture without taking notes may have a value for certain purposes, no one likes to depend upon such a way of getting material for careful analysis. He wants to have the exact words before him for repeated perusal. Failing to convince the Trustees that this laboratory equipment for philosophy was as essential as a laboratory equipment for physics or chemistry, Professor Garman himself bought and installed in his house a printing-press, hired a compositor for considerable periods, and proceeded to provide the material needed. His pamphlets were partly extracts from authors, partly his own statements, criticisms, and outlines. Any pamphlet was cast aside the moment a better one could be substituted, or when change in the focus of interest made another treatment desirable.

Nor did the technique stop with pamphlet and dis-

cussion. The students were frequently made to write out careful analyses, or to try their strength in meeting a question proposed. Their efforts were criticised with a detail which aimed not merely to tell the writer that he was in error, but to show him just where and how, and thus to help him to the right method. A teacher is apt to consider a course as satisfactory if he himself reaches some definite goal. Professor Garman's standard was more exacting. He did not consider the course a success unless every member of the class reached, not indeed an identical result, but a method, an ability to weigh evidence, a spirit of intellectual honesty, patience, and thoroughness that would neither jump at conclusions, balk at difficulties, nor shy at novel and unwelcome truths.

A noteworthy trait in Professor Garman's classroom work was his sympathetic reception of objections and appreciation of difficulties. Instead of minimizing an objection, he was more apt to restate it for the student so as to bring out much more than the student had seen in it. If he found that there was serious difficulty, I have known him many a time to go home, change entirely his plan of campaign, bring to the class next day a new pamphlet that would start a new line of thought, and finally, a fortnight later bring the class up to the previous difficulty, but now with a point of view for which the difficulty was no longer serious. It was a part of his strategy never to let his students feel themselves hopeless before difficulties, never to leave unconquered strongholds in his rear, never to ask students to accept anything on his authority.

Several characterizations of Professor Garman which were published after his death and are reprinted at the close of this volume present important

aspects of his work, but it seems appropriate to give at this point the impressions of two of his former students at Smith College. Professor Mary Whiton Calkins of Wellesley College writes:

“I thank you for the opportunity to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Garman, who lectured during one fall term to my college class. I gained from his teaching, first, the ineradicable conviction that I must think for myself; second, an insight into the Hegelian method of making a doctrine criticise itself and reveal its own contradictions; third, and specifically, the suggestion to apply this sort of argument to materialism. In other words, Professor Garman helped me to find out for myself the inherent fallacy in the materialistic argument. He was — may I not say, he is — a great teacher, and I wish I might adequately express my gratitude to him.”

Professor Anna Cutler of Smith College says: “I only wish I could put into words definite recollections of Professor Garman’s teaching of the Senior class at Smith College in the autumn of 1884.

“If I could I should have more hope of passing on to my students the torch of inspiration which he handed to us. That clear flame of enthusiastic devotion to truth and coherency of thought and statement burned through every hour of the fourteen weeks we had under his instruction and keeps up still, I venture to say, in the mind and heart of every student in the class when his name is mentioned.

“Since receiving your letter I have seen Miss Calkins at East Gloucester and two or three other classmates whose interest has been in literary, social, or domestic spheres, and they all agree that there was no student in the class, intellectual, frivolous, or merely

nondescript that did not learn to feel in that class the thrill of an intense enthusiasm for the things purely of the mind — a feeling quite apart from the mere common college girl enthusiasms for attractive or inspiring personalities. Professor Garman's personal magnetism and wonderful power of illustration were used wholly in the service of the main purpose of the course, and I think nothing was more educative to our class than his single-mindedness to that purpose, the way in which he met that really ultimate test of the class room. I mean single-mindedness, unable to formulate that test as the students most severe in judging by it usually are. As to his method: I remember chiefly his use of stimulating questions which made the subject apparently grow in the minds of the individuals of the class, his elasticity in making the discussions meet the needs of individuals as evinced by the questions his questions called forth. Yet most distinctly of all I remember that every question and illustration was seen by the end of the hour to fit into an outline which we apparently had helped him make.

“For actual content of material we certainly used Hickok's *Mental Science* as a basis for pretty wide departures. Our interest was directed from comparatively little that would now be called psychology proper into epistemological and metaphysical questions. I remember most vividly, ‘Are the laws of thought the laws of things?’ and, ‘Are we to be agnostics or theists?’ I should agree with Miss Calkins in regard to his impressive demonstration of the untenability of materialism. I feel my own debt chiefly to his strenuous idealism combined with his power of making philosophy the most vital and practical interest for the every-day human being.”

How Professor Garman reached and held the average man — not the special student of philosophy — is recalled by Mr. Rossiter: "The students in every college class room fall into three groups, those who are sincerely interested in the subject considered, those who, although possibly excellent students in special studies, are not interested in the immediate subject before them, and those who from indolence, stupidity, animal spirits, or other causes are actually inefficient up to the border line of failure. It is not difficult to inspire the first element to their best work; though more difficult, it is also possible to draw the wandering interest of the second; but to fix the attention, arouse, inspire, and actually instruct the third and well-nigh hopeless element, — it is an achievement seldom witnessed in college or school. Yet this Professor Garman accomplished with every class which came within his influence. In the memory of his students, however numerous the years and the vicissitudes that have intervened, lingers vividly the recollection of the concluding minutes of Professor Garman's lectures; when, forgetful of the routine of recitation or the expiration of the hour, the great instructor held his auditors with some lofty concluding thought or thrilling illustration. At such moments the effect of his words was heightened by his striking and unusually impressive personality, and by a singularly musical voice. When he ceased, even the most restless and indifferent had been conquered and inspired, and the momentary hush which followed, was the involuntary tribute of every student in the class to the master."

No notice of Professor Garman would be at all adequate which did not speak of his extraordinary

charm of illustration. The expulsive power of a new affection is an obvious psychological truth, but the student who saw this through the symbol of the oaks which kept their leaves through all the winter's storms but shed them at the first start of the new life of spring found it a more vital fact than if stated in general form only. The physical sciences were constantly drawn upon; the unity of the cosmos and a spiritual interpretation of reality seemed subtly evidenced by the analogies and symbols that were so effective in giving vividness of imagery to the most profound conceptions. The climax of effect was produced by a turn which was often employed with masterly skill. A phrase or illustration of an opponent was analyzed and made to point an opposite conclusion. To turn an enemy's own artillery upon him is usually to make his position completely untenable — and there is besides an artistic element of humor or irony which is irresistible. The address on President Seelye contains a fine illustration of such a reversal.

Along with all these gifts and methods which combined to give charm and compelling power to the class room was a characteristic which both enabled him to aim his instruction directly at the mark, and contributed strongly to the permanence of his hold upon his students in after life. To say that this was a profound and abiding interest in the intellectual and spiritual life of each student might not at first convey all that is meant. Many teachers cultivate such an interest as a part of their vocation. But with Garman it seemed to be a "first intention." Like the bent of a Newton or a Darwin for investigation it had no need of external stimulation and was eager to seize and hold fast any clue. An incident related

by a member of one of the earlier classes illustrates this: "During my college course I had no personal intercourse with Mr. Garman outside of the class room and there was no reason for him to have more interest than usual in my crude thinking. On the Commencement platform I spoke upon the hackneyed theme, 'The Political Duty of the Educated Man.' The only paragraph of it which lingers in my memory is an opening description of the political career of Mr. Roosevelt, then only four years out of college but already a power in New York State. This I used as an example of what an educated man might do. More than twenty years afterwards, on mentioning it casually to Mr. Garman for the first time, he replied, 'Yes, I have often wondered what grew out of that line of thought later,' and went on to show he had a much clearer memory of it than I had. He had treasured it all those years in no wise for itself, but as a glimpse into my mind. Nothing in my intercourse with him ever astonished me like that."

We might go on to add this or that which contributed to Professor Garman's success, — but after all, if these qualities that we have named and others that might be named had not been the genuine expressions of a great mind and heart, seeking and finding its life by a certain inward necessity in the Socratic Eros, they would have become mechanical and failed. It was because there was first of all this great personality, with a genuine interest in every student, that Professor Garman has achieved the immortality which Plato tells us every great soul craves, the living on in ideals, aspirations, and enthusiasms that it has begotten in other souls.

III

In selecting and arranging the following papers of Part I, it has not seemed wise to attempt to make out of them what they were not intended by Professor Garman to be: a completely organized scheme of thought. They were written not as discussions for experts nor as essays for the public, but as a presentation of certain fundamental positions for undergraduates. Further, they were not intended as the complete presentation, even for the undergraduates; they were supplemented by the class room. There was indeed a change both in subject-matter and in method during the later years. The shift in emphasis of subject-matter from metaphysics and theory of knowledge to social and ethical problems has been referred to. The shift in method is indicated in the following reply to a request from a former student:

"With regard to the pamphlets, I have not sent them, as I am hoping next year to do considerable in rewriting, and printing new ones. When my study was five hours a week, and the divisions were so much smaller, my aim was to teach rather than to lecture, to help the students think for themselves, so the pamphlets were mere sketches to be filled in in the class room. But when the courses are three hours only, and the divisions very large, you are simply compelled to adopt lecture methods if you get over any ground, and that means rewriting the pamphlet so as to fit the changed method."

The limits of the volume as well as the nature of the pamphlets have seemed to prescribe a selection of typical material from various parts of the course rather than a widely inclusive presentation. And it has

seemed fairer on the whole that the selection should be largely from what was used in the later years, both because its problems are probably now of greater interest, and because of the fuller form in which the later material was presented. Of the earlier pamphlets several were outlines or explanations of Hickok's texts; several were designed to aid in the study of the classics — Descartes, Berkeley, Hume, and Kant; a third class consisted of selections or arrangements of passages from authors — a favorite in this class was "The Revelation of the Universal," based on Emerson. None from these three classes are here reproduced, except two on Hume and Kant which represent a somewhat intermediate stage. The first pamphlets used on Hume and Kant were more nearly a series of questions. It is further to be noted that in the later years Professor Garman was accustomed to buy many duplicate copies of books or periodicals to be loaned to his classes, besides reprinting extracts in pamphlet form. Thus with the class of 1907, up to the middle of Senior year he had employed forty-four pamphlets and thirty-seven books or periodicals. Evidently such a selection as is given in the following pages can be only suggestive of the method and by no means an adequate representation of the scheme. What Professor Garman wrote in 1893 of the whole series of pamphlets is still more true of any selection: "These pamphlets are very fragmentary and are devoted to elucidating or amplifying some of the topics of the text-book, and it would be impossible for a person to judge them except in connection with the oral lectures and criticisms which I am accustomed to add in the class room. They in no sense present the syllabus of a course."

Yet although the selections do not in themselves yield a continuous line of thought, and although no attempt has been made to organize them into a complete system by supplying the missing parts, it is believed that a main course of thought may readily be made out. In the earlier years the first steps were more emphasized; in the later years those were much reduced and the later portions were much amplified. The papers in Part I numbered I to III state in various ways the aims and methods of the course, and are self-explaining. The outline of the remaining papers in this Part is substantially as follows: —

(1) Two alternatives confront us: either all mental processes depend wholly upon mechanical laws, or there is thought and action not so determined. Mechanical forces follow lines of least resistance; but if there is any such thing as science at all, thinking must be determined by the test, What is true? This implies conclusions based, not on habit or association or brain paths, but on evidence. In ethical terms the two alternatives are: (*a*) Darwinian evolution is the whole explanation of man and society. Therefore life is only a struggle for existence with survival of the "fittest." The only motive is self-preference; the only virtue is success; the only vice is failure. (*b*) Man has a dual nature which on the one hand follows habit and laws of least resistance, but on the other, as a spiritual nature with power to weigh evidence, is governed by entirely different laws making service, not self-preference, the standard of action, and justice, not success, the criterion of virtue (IV-VI).

(2) If now we consider the conditions of scientific knowledge, we are forced to decide that neither Hume

nor his successors gave an adequate account of it. We agree with Kant in holding that all knowledge is not from sense experience (VII, VIII).

(3) But an objection arises: Is not all our knowledge merely, as Kant claimed, a knowledge of phenomena? Is not the relativity of knowledge the price that must be paid for its certainty? When Descartes discovered that his own conscious existence was involved in his doubt, he found not appearance only but reality. Consciousness is real. The only question, then, will be, How far can a study of consciousness carry us? This is evidently our real world. Or, to approach the problem in another way, the possibility of science, as well as of such practical coöperation as is involved in a jury trial, implies a common universe; man and nature, man and his fellow, must belong to one world. This is the doctrine of "monism," and if this one universe is regarded as a spiritual universe the monism is called theism (IV, IX-XI).

(4) In the sphere of emotion and will ("susceptibility") the correlative doctrine of the second alternative stated under (1) above is that man is not purely a creature of instinct and impulse. Ideas play a part in deciding our purposes, and our purposes or "investments" affect our feeling and emotion. Education must develop these rational sentiments and not rely on natural "interest." A man may not plead that his affections are wholly outside his control (XII, XXII).

(5) In considering the motives and standards of the moral life two alternatives present themselves: either pleasure is the only motive or there is a spiritual nature and with it spiritual impulses; either expediency is the only standard or this spiritual nature and its

constitution which involves justice and right is the ultimate measure of value (XIII, XIV).

(6) It is the general law of all mental and spiritual life that the subject does not determine himself directly but only through his objects; in practical life a man becomes great, not by remaining shut up in himself, but by doing a great work. If we apply this to the universe it would seem to require that God can be perfect only if the universe is so. The position that this is a spiritual universe encounters the difficulty of the existence of evil. Hence it is necessary to consider what is involved in the nature of moral agents and what are the conditions of an evolution of religion and of a spiritual development. This leads to a study of the general principles of sovereignty and its treatment of wrongdoing (XV-XVIII).

(7) The positions that man has freedom in the power to weigh evidence and to affect conduct by ideals, and further that he belongs to a spiritual universe in which he gains full life only through his relationships to Nature and other persons, have important consequences for social reform. On the basis of a mechanical "pluralism" or individualism the natural law might seem to be each for himself. But if each individual reaches full life only through fulfilling his function in a moral world, then a law of service is indicated. Business no less than government and charity affords this opportunity and must, if morally conducted, conform to this law (XIX-XXI).

If this outline should fall under the eye of any one not personally acquainted with Professor Garman's work, the first reaction may very likely be the thought that here is no wide-reaching system, and perhaps no

strikingly original speculation. But when the results rather than the instruments are considered, perhaps the second thought suggested may be what has most impressed the present writer, — that great artists have often used few tools and simple materials.



C. E. Gorman

PART I
PHILOSOPHICAL PAPERS

AIMS AND METHODS

I

LETTER TO PRESIDENT HALL¹

AMHERST, MASS.

MY DEAR PRESIDENT HALL, — The problems that you propose in your letter of February 8 interest me greatly, and I am very glad to have an opportunity to state to you my experience. It is a matter I have puzzled over much for the last eighteen years, and I am very far from feeling that the problem is solved yet. I have constantly altered my course and tried new experiments, but still the undergraduate is an uncertain quantity, and methods which secure a phenomenal success with one class meet with much resistance from others.

First, a word as to my methods of work. There seems to be an unavoidable resistance to new ideas on the part of students at this age, a resistance that during the last few years has increased. I have gradually settled down to the conviction that an introductory course ought to be so arranged as to meet this resistance most advantageously. This I have secured by two devices: first, the pamphlet system, which I think is as much of an invention as printing by movable type. These pamphlets I have printed at my own expense; they are very fragmentary, taking up a single topic or part of a topic and treating it as one would in a lecture; these I loan to the students, and they return

¹ Reprinted from the *American Journal of Psychology*, volume ix, 1898.

them for the use of the next class. In this way I can state a question without answering it by having them turn over to the next chapter of the book and find the answer given there. If I find the question is really appreciated, the effort is a success; if not, I must approach it from some other direction, by some other pamphlet which shall have enough new material to hold their thought and stimulate their inquiry, and yet at the same time focus their attention on the problem they have failed to appreciate. In this way I can keep the class at work and keep them moving, prevent their being taken up with outside occupations and amusements, and at the same time be reviewing more thoroughly work they have partially done. It requires as much skill to keep a class together in the introductory course, to give enough work for the best students and not too much for the less able, as it does for the police to handle a large crowd at the time of a public celebration. I can do it with pamphlets, I cannot do it without. If I read lectures before the class to any extent they become spectators, but by means of the pamphlets they get the lecture before coming into the class room, and our time is spent in discussion.

My second device is the order in which our subjects are taken up. Years ago when I taught geometry I found that the students would oftentimes make it a mere intellectual puzzle or mental gymnastics, but that by applying some of the problems to questions in surveying, in astronomy, and in physics, I could bring the men to realize that in studying geometry they were gaining citizenship in the universe, and they were at once led to interpret their lives as far as possible in terms of these propositions. In taking up philosophy

I have attempted to do something of that same kind of work; I present the fundamental positions from the point of view of the history of the discussions in psychology, in philosophy, and ethics, and to some extent of those in political obligations. It makes the matter as serious and personal as possible, and as a result it has often cost the students a very great effort to satisfy themselves instead of simply meeting the requirements of the recitation room.

Now in answer to your particular questions I can only give very general impressions.

1. "Why is this (readjusting of their views) necessary, *i. e.*, what is it meant to accomplish?"—The earlier life of the students has been one of imitation and obedience to authority; it corresponds to traditionalism in tribal or national existence. The great requisite for a young person is to form habits. I have sometimes been asked to give lectures to the lower classmen on methods of work, and I think it would be very proper to do so, but I have more and more realized that students acquire right methods of work, not through explanation, but through imitation and discipline. I have had students completely carried away by my lectures on methods of work in the fall term, and declare that "if they had only known that freshman year it would have made such a difference with them," and yet in three months' time the entire effect had passed away, and they would do only what I forced them to do by actual drill. I am confident, therefore, that the earlier education of the student must be wholly by imitation, which should be more or less blind. But there comes a time when the young man must assume responsibility for what he does; there must be self-possession and self-direction instead of

dependence on authority, and this is a new experience to him, an experience which many shrink from even in very little things.

Those who decline to follow this unfolding of their nature, and there are very many of them, begin to fossilize. If they are religious they soon become pharisaical, get lost in particulars, are unable to discriminate the essential from the accidental, and take refuge in doing something, and their religious activity is oftentimes such as exhibits zeal, but without knowledge. If they are not religious they become fastidious in imitating social customs, and very soon develop a degree of indifference toward everything except mere form; they become heartless, selfish, many cynical. There is no hope for a young man at this time if he does not meet the obligations of life with the spirit of self-reliance, but to do this he must have some confidence in his own judgment and the standards by which he judges. This is the spirit of philosophy.

A young man who does not have the spirit of philosophy grows up a woman minus her virtues; he can never have the intuitive power of a woman, but he is sure to have her sensitiveness, her vanity, her fickleness, and generally he will greatly exaggerate these qualities.

It is my conviction that a young man can obtain inspiration, enthusiasm, absence of self-consciousness only by the steady contemplation of great truths; that if he is wholly absorbed in imitation he is like a person whose whole work is that of a proofreader; if he is successful he is taken as a matter of course, and he gets no credit; if he is unsuccessful and makes mistakes, he is awkward; he is ridiculed beyond endurance; he soon realizes that the most promising rewards

for the most careful efforts are negative, and he soon becomes indifferent, and is simply goaded on from fear of the consequences of failure. But the young man who philosophizes, who really understands himself and appreciates the truth, is no longer a slave of form, but is filled with admiration that is genuine and lasting.

This, I believe, is exactly the issue which is settled at this critical period of a young man's life. But the question arises, Why should philosophy, psychology, and ethics be the studies which most favor self-reliance, rather than mathematics or the sciences?

I have often raised the question as to whether I would not let down my course and take a little rest and devote myself to publishing, but I have found that somehow students' minds would be satisfied with nothing less than these most difficult problems. I did not awaken enthusiasm or gratitude until these were mastered, and so I have come to the conclusion that there is something in these subjects which the mind demands at this stage of the young man's development.

It seems to me that mathematics fails to meet the demand for two reasons; first, there is no difference of opinion on all these subjects, and the student does not really have to stand on his own feet; thus it may become more a discipline in ingenuity than in decision and self-reliance. Secondly, he oftentimes knows pretty nearly what the answer will be, and therefore gets very decided hints as to the means; that is, he really has some guidance either from text-books or from experience; he is not a Columbus sailing over unknown seas with everything before him untried.

With regard to the physical sciences, there is some

difference of opinion here, but his main time is spent in undergraduate work on matters that are generally accepted; he has more or less assistance about the use of the apparatus, and his main consciousness of need is of ingenuity and of quickness; and then the enormous admiration which our age has for the discoveries of physical science gives him almost a superstitious reverence for anything that can be called scientific. I mean by this that he accepts a great many positions in science without really testing them, and thus he almost gets back into the imitative work again; but when he comes to philosophy it is a new world. The trend of public opinion, especially of society life, with which he is most familiar, is not in that direction; it requires something like the heroism which was demanded of Luther and of the anti-slavery leaders for him to attempt the positions which even in an undergraduate study are forced upon his attention; and he cannot follow authority, there is so much difference of opinion. He is obliged, therefore, to weigh evidence and to let himself down with all his weight upon his own feet. It takes me six months to bring even the better men in the class up to a place where they will really weigh evidence; when their attention is called to it, the issue is forced, and they are greatly surprised to find the extent to which they have blindly followed authority, — they are almost as frightened as some horses are when the blinders are taken off. But when the idea fairly dawns upon them that true scholarship consists, not in some mystical quality of genius which ordinary men do not possess, but in simple honesty to one's self in following out the Cartesian Golden Rule, then they experience a new birth, they are no longer boys or slaves, but men.

If they attain citizenship in the kingdom of truth, they perceive that the difference between the greatest and the smallest consists only in the quickness and comprehensiveness and thoroughness and humility of their work. Truth to one man is truth to all if they can get exactly the same data and exactly the same standards. Henceforth they call no man master or lord, for all are brethren.

No doubt a similar development could be secured, if we could only have the right circumstances, by business responsibility, or by military service, or by actual professional practice and training, but I think it would be pretty costly, and that the usual percentage of failures would be maintained. Philosophy has this advantage, that it gives the training under such circumstances that the best results can be secured with the least danger.

2. "How should it be guided, directed, or controlled by the instructor, *i. e.* what topics first and last, should it be deep-going or drastic? are there dangers, and if so, how avoided?"—The first requisite is success. Power reveals itself only in work done; if the student gets confused and discouraged he is worse off than if he had not attempted to decide for himself.

It is my conviction that the introductory course should always be given by a teacher of the largest experience and greatest power of adaptation. I feel that when the student has learned to stand on his own feet and to weigh evidence thoroughly, and to avoid jumping at conclusions because they appear plausible, he can be left to the guidance of the less experienced teacher, but that first acquaintance with philosophy is the grand opportunity, just like the breaking of a

colt; carelessness here will vaccinate against future success.

The student needs to be taught first constructive thinking. He has been accustomed to a certain analysis; all this, with rare exceptions, is clerical work. He will make a very good table of contents or the outline of a certain argument, but he takes the author's own estimate of each step of his position, and has no power to understand independent valuation. The first thing is to teach him that scholarship demands constructive criticism, and here we must begin with the easier subjects. In my own experience hypnotism is peculiarly favorable for this kind of work. I give them several recitations on the details of hypnotism up through double consciousness in Binet, etc., then I ask them to give me, not an outline, or table of contents, but such an argument as a judge would give when reviewing the case before a jury, telling them not to go into details, and not to jump at conclusions, and to give the extremes under each type. The papers I get back are a sight to behold. These I criticise, writing in corrections with red ink, and hand back, and then require them to try again. By this time they discover their mistake, but do not see how to remedy it, and then comes a great deal of very frank talk. Then they realize for the first time how much they are guided by authority and imitation and indeed begin to wonder if there is anything else in scholarship. Then I give them in very brief form my own argument, and then follows a most interesting series of comments which generally agree in this particular, "How could we be expected to have discovered anything like that in the reference-books?" and it very soon becomes formulated into the idea that the stand-

ard for undergraduate thinking ought not to be the same as that which is demanded of the teacher. In other words, there is a difference of kind between the teacher and the taught.

I believe the great secret is to take some one subject and make a success of that rather than to go from subject to subject. Hence I work over this particular problem until the men come to see clearly that it is simply an unfolding process, and that they could have worked it out if they had only weighed evidence. We then take up a series of subjects in psychology, and show their ethical and practical significance, and also the places which they have occupied in historical discussion. Each subject has a twofold significance. First, it is not so difficult but that the students can in time realize just what constructive work here means. Secondly, each subject points in a particular direction, namely, towards the unity of our mental life, the fact that our practical activity is founded on our mental constitution; and the students are brought to realize that simple things are more complex than they seem, and therefore more thorough study will be demanded, purely from practical considerations, if one has no higher motive. I feel that the work should be thorough or not touched at all. Some subjects may be merely referred to, but it is better to take one subject and do it thoroughly, and show the students what it involves, and the true methods, than to give the results of investigation without giving the processes.

Just here I have to fight strenuously against the students using the class room as a pony; when a problem is given out and the data presented in the class room, they must attempt a solution for themselves,

and not wait and get the results presented in the class room. Hence, I require frequent papers written on topics by the whole class before the discussion is completed in the recitation. By means of the pamphlets I am able to do this, but if the pamphlets were bound up in a volume the students would look over into the next chapter and save themselves trouble. The dangers that are most serious, in my judgment, are demoralization and discouragement, such as may come over an army in a panic. Students are very quick to suspect a sleight-of-hand performance on the part of the teacher, and that some other author could get just the opposite results, and instead of weighing evidence they fall back on ingenuity and sophistry. I believe every student has to go through a period of sophistry if he fairly faces this work, and I believe in having this fit of measles early and having it out of the way; but for some little time the teacher has got to be on the lookout for the sequelæ, and he must not trust too implicitly to students when they say they are through with them. They are quite likely to enjoy the position of uncertainty, and use it to justify themselves if they have any immoral tendencies. But if you can get the man so far along as to make him have confidence in the power of weighing evidence, to realize how much civilization owes to it, how every department of life can be progressive only through scientific thinking, and then make it a moral question, and show that intellectual honesty and supreme choice of truth for truth's sake, and determination to follow evidence to the best of one's ability, is the great line of cleavage between the saints and the sinners, — if you can force the issue here and win, then the class are entirely different afterwards. I do not believe

without this moral battle, without considering the ethical phases of the question, it would be possible to get the best intellectual results.

3. "What would be one or two good literary treatments of this question of epistemology: *i. e.*, is a course in Locke, Berkeley, and Hume the best to begin with, and is Kant a final solution?"

Having taken them through a discussion of some of the simpler questions in psychology, our work centres around the doctrine of association and habit as it is presented by James, and the men are made to realize how much of our life has a physical basis, especially by the study of pathological cases. We now face the problem, Is it all dependent on brain action? If so, what would be the consequences? Up to this point they have had the point of view of physics and the natural sciences. Epistemological work is fairly before us when we take up Berkeley. I should prefer Berkeley and the Sophists taken up together. The great thing is to force upon a young man's mind a problem in all its seriousness. I do not feel that Locke is an economy of time for an introductory course unless some of the men hold to innate ideas. Therefore we begin with Berkeley, then take Hume with John Stuart Mill's additions, then selections from Spencer until we get before the student the problem of our standards of thought, whether these might not be wholly relative or due to association, and show what would be the effect on ethics and religion. Then we take up the study of reflex action, the automaton theory, and psychological problems. This brings the matter home to the students, till it seems as though physical habit (heredity and associations of ideas) would account for our most sacred convictions.

The reason why I make this so strong is because at present there are very many outside enterprises distracting the students' attention. Unless philosophy is a life and death matter you will not get the thorough work, the hard work, which the students really need to do. They soon get a faith in the teacher, and think that a man who is able to present so clearly the argument on a few points which they have had will be able to guide them on all the difficult ones, and that somehow they will come out right anyway. So when they get into the larger questions and do not see the bearing of some of the problems, they are in danger of making drudgery out of it instead of philosophy, and so lose their inspiration.

Our next step is to bring before them the questions, Can the brain weigh evidence? Can the brain give us personal identity? Can the brain give us memory in the true sense of the word? Can we account for the existence of error if we have only brain action? Here we take up such discussions as are given in Clifford and James's "mind stuff," and review Herbert Spencer until the men clearly realize the position which Wundt brings out, that there must be such a thing as psychical causality. This comes to them like a revelation. We are then ready for Kant and at the same time for the study of particular questions in physiological psychology. Then the men see what the fusion of sense perceptions means, also what problems are at issue in space perception, for instance, or in time perceptions, and most of all in attention and volition. It does not seem to me that the main problems of experimental psychology should come at the beginning of the course; they surely get a double meaning when taken up at this stage.

4. "Is it possible to find the way out of agnosticism, or could an ingenuous soul be left to wrestle with it?"

My feeling is if the best students have the right method of work and have the spirit of investigation, agnosticism would in time work itself out if left unsolved, but that the average student needs help, at least to this extent, to show him that he cannot make any hypothesis which will be a reasonable basis for his knowledge of the physical world and of natural science that does not involve as its basis something more than the physical world. I believe the place to take this up is with Kant's "Practical Reason," and if this is fully appreciated the students will find no great difficulty in theism, at least as the only hypothesis which gives any basis for science and human life. It is so easy for them to feel that our knowledge of the material world is simple, and our knowledge of moral obligation and of spiritual life a mere matter of opinion, that I cannot content myself with leaving the class until they realize just the reverse. It is not very hard to make the students understand that our standards of thinking are spiritual, and that unless we can use these standards in judging others, and in interpreting nature, and in interpreting human life and human destiny, we are guilty of the worst form of anthropomorphism, an anthropomorphism for which there is not the slightest justification. But with the application of these standards moral obligations are authoritative and society cannot dispense with them. The class derive great inspiration from this point of view. It converts them from disciples to apostles, and it helps them in every position of graduate work, in law, in literature, in theology, and in medicine. The business world is the severest trial, and yet nowhere

do they need this point of view so much as when they are tempted to sacrifice everything to mere accumulation of wealth.

The great need of our students from a practical point of view is an ideal; the great danger is that they will become visionary. Hence I cannot let them go until I hold out before them the ideals of a spiritual life, and then make such a practical application as will enable them to understand the evolution of religion, that is, how it was possible for a divine being to tolerate slavery, polygamy, etc., provided these are wrong. I show them that an ideal is like the north star which the colored slave would follow, not with the expectation of ever reaching the star, but under the hope that by following it he might better his condition. I bring in the laws of the unfolding of the life of the individual and of the community, until the men discover that the great question of human history is not so much "where we are as whither we are drifting," and that time is required for all progress. Without this discussion the men would at first be idealists and visionary and then get discouraged and wonder whether their college course had not been too optimistic, and whether finite human beings are not powerless to hasten the evolution of the race. This will lead to hope and lessen their indifference as citizens.

I fear that I have wearied you by my long letter. I do feel that the teaching of philosophy is an opportunity which no other study offers. I feel that the student who has been through these doubts and worked them out for himself has learned the strength and at the same time the limitations of the finite, and that he will have a degree of courage and patience in adversity, a degree of self-reliance and humility which

others can secure only by those peculiar experiences which occasionally occur in actual business or politics or the professional life. The student who has taken philosophy realizes how the part is to be estimated in the light of the whole; he realizes this more completely than he could from any other study. He also realizes the dignity which a part may secure from the grandeur of the whole to which it belongs, and the little things in life have a depth of meaning for him which they could not have if he had not this point of view. There are considerably many who, in spite of all the teacher can do, use the class room as a pony, who therefore get only some of the benefits of the course, but it shows in all their other work. The habits that are formed in college are so persistent that the student does not readily change them after he goes out.

Hoping that I have not tired you by my long account, and that I have not given too much emphasis to the personal equation, I am

Most sincerely yours,

CHARLES E. GARMAN.

II

THE LINE OF CLEAVAGE¹

I

SOME time ago a child from the country was taken by its parents to the seaside, and under the care of its mother one day walked out on a long, low, rocky ledge jutting out into the surf. It was a trying position for any landsman as a first experience, and the child soon cried lustily because the rock was floating out to sea and they would soon be beyond reach of help.

We can laugh at this childishness, but do we never make a mistake equally foolish? The child knew better, and his mother assured him that the rocks could not float, but his senses affirmed in the most positive manner just the reverse; his childishness consisted in rejecting the testimony of judgment concerning what was really true, and in accepting merely the appearances instead. This is the line of cleavage which runs through all society. Its beginnings are low down even in the animal world. Its endings are the Day of Judgment in the separation of the sheep and the goats. We may distinguish cleavage by different phraseology such as childishness or intelligence, wisdom or folly, barbarism or civilization, superstition or science, saint or sinner. In every case the discrimination is between appearances in the one case and

¹ The two papers included under this title both employ the same metaphor, although with slightly different reference. They may date from about the time of the letter to President Hall.

reality in the other, and in each case a severe test of character is involved when dealing with a new problem. Indeed, it makes little odds how simple the question is, the supreme choice between truth for truth's sake, and personal convenience in following the inclination of the moment, is clearly involved. The most delicate chemical tests are the most valuable, and in the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew, Christ selects those where the individual at the time of the deed was unconscious that it was a test.

Accepting the doctrine of evolution as provisionally true, it is clear that the human race has gained each step in its progress only by freeing itself from the bondage of appearances, that is, from the world as seen through the senses. To the savage man, the universe seems not merely spatial, temporal, and material, but also capricious. A savage never says, "I dreamed," neither does a child until he has been taught. Dreams are real sense perceptions; to distrust them would be, for him, to give up all standards of certainty. It must be conceded that savages are not so likely to dream as civilized peoples, as their physical health and animal existence cause a minimum expenditure of nerve energy. It is rather in times of illness or when injured that sleep is troubled and then they see their enemy or some wild animal torturing them. This is the origin of witchcraft. All savages believe that objects have a visible and invisible existence. The water that is now dew on the grass is gone, but no one thinks of it as annihilated; a cloud appears in the clear sky, no one thinks of it as created; at night-time there is a whole vault of stars in every pond of water, but by day they are there no longer. Things are constantly taking on the invisible

form of existence, and when the savage sleeps in his hut and dreams of the chase, he accounts for the paradox, not by saying it is a dream, but by saying that his invisible or double went hunting. Therefore when he suffers pain and at night sees his enemy torturing him, the mystery of pain is all explained. It is the invisible presence of his enemy that accounts for all the ills of life. Hence the remedy for sickness among savages is not medicine but the pow-wow that shall frighten away the invisible foe. Chinese fire-crackers are exploded every night at sundown on Chinese ships simply to frighten away enemies. Grant the savage man's premises and his conclusions are strictly logical. Herbert Spencer has shown that the whole practice of medicine originated in these premises. This is the whence to which our noblest medical schools owe their existence. How do we account for the change? It is simply this: There came a time when men distrusted appearances, and though the dreams were none the less real, and though indeed they became more and more frequent, yet they no longer were conceded to be true.

Now this is simply saying that men had taken the first step in that long journey whose highest expression is in the language of the Apostle, "We walk by faith, and not by sight." It is judgment, substantiated evidence, as opposed to sense reality. Thousands of years have passed away since that first step was taken, and even to this day some of our educated people believe in dreams when unusually vivid and uncanny. The progress from fetichism, when the world was governed by caprice, up to the nineteenth century with its reign of physical law has been a battle in which each foot of the ground has been contested in

the most stubborn manner. In vain might Galileo prove that the earth turned on its axis instead of the sun's rising and setting; appearances were against him, and the whole force of the Church was brought to bear to force him to recant. In vain did Newton affirm the gravitation of the planets; astrology was too old a superstition to be pulled up by the roots with a single effort, and some of the greatest intellects of the day declined to yield to his evidence. In our own time Darwin suffered no small persecution when he affirmed the variation of species, for it appeared ridiculous to trace man's descent back to the lower forms of animal life; but slowly the victory has been won, first in one position and then in another until now the very centre of the citadel is besieged. Theism claims to furnish evidence of the most conclusive type, that the whole common sense perception of the world is only appearance, as ridiculously unreal as the old Ptolemaic astronomy or savage witchcraft. It claims to show that if thousands of valuable lives were sacrificed to the superstitions of the Indian medicine-man, or at a later time to the oracles of the astrologer, at the present time every life is being marred by faith in the reality of the show world of common sense, and that the foundations of our social order are being undermined by the logical conclusions which are drawn from these show premises.

Theism claims to furnish evidence so clear that the wayfaring man, though a fool, may not err therein. It does not, however, claim to be able to dissolve the appearances. The Copernican system of astronomy with all its evidence has not succeeded in enabling Professor Huxley to free himself from seeing the sun set instead of the horizon lift. The sky is still to us

a vault and the earth a plane. The stars are all at equal distance over our heads and we cannot for a moment realize their actual magnitude. Though we are no longer deceived by appearances, the oar is still bent to our eyes in the water; and there are just as many stars in the pond at night to us as to our savage ancestors. But a person would be considered insane who should for a moment be the slave of these appearances. The reason for their strength and persistence Mr. Balfour explains by the law of natural selection. The life of the savage was wholly a response to environment. It was a life of violence and constant risk requiring instantaneous action on the spur of the moment. To hesitate often meant death. It is clear that those individuals who yielded most to the senses would be quickest in their action. Deliberation requires time, the weighing of evidence. This meant hesitation in an emergency, often indecision. The odds in the lower animals were therefore all against the thinker. Those only were safe who would flee on the slightest provocation, and those who wait to determine whether there has not been a false alarm will often never have a chance to wait again. It is thus seen that natural selection preserved the slaves of the senses and destroyed the children of reason. That is, those who ate of the fruit of the tree of knowledge suffered the penalty of instant death. It will take generations of heredity slowly accumulated to give our spiritual nature, our rational cognitions and ethical impulses, a tithe of the strength or sense of reality which appearance and passion possess. Mr. Balfour concludes that we ought therefore not to be disturbed in any way by the difficulty of making spiritual things seem real. On the other hand, that

we ought the rather to suspect our natural inclinations and tendencies all the more because of their vividness.

It was my fortune in boyhood to be acquainted with a man who had never had the advantage of an education, but who was a genius in originality and invention, a man of great common sense who anticipated Ingersoll in many particulars in his criticism of the Bible. I saw him again some twenty years later when his health was feeble, whereas he had been a giant of strength. Our conversation drifted from the changes that had taken place to those that must soon occur. He was very frank to express his agnosticism, and I was a little curious to see whether he would be consistent in his line of argument on things with which science is concerned. I found he was so perfectly; being unable to realize in thought the possibility of our performing a chemical analysis of the sun, and being unable to conceive of the force of gravitation, he quite threw overboard some of the most important conclusions of modern physical science. In inventing a machine, he had found it necessary to construct a model of it in his mind and realize the interworking of its parts; this he could not do with regard to the scientific conclusions of the common sense world, and therefore he was agnostic here. Huxley himself confesses that he is no better off. But Huxley did not throw away his science; he chose rather to doubt the appearances. This is just the difference between ignorance and education, between vice and virtue. The drunkard and the debauchee find a reality in their passions that makes the still small voice seem like a ghost, and they cannot understand how any one believes in eternal righteousness. They see nothing but sensuality to life. But the virtuous man is undisturbed

by the earthquake and whirlwind of passion, and in the still small voice he finds truth itself, for which he is ready to sacrifice his life. The question you have before you is, on which side of this line of cleavage you will stand. Because of your education and the assistance of others, you can laugh at the superstitions of the savage and the crude frankness of the rustic. You can despise the slavery of the sensualist, that is, these are not test questions with you. But are you sure that if you had existed in these bygone ages you would have been among the first to withstand the whole current of your age, and accept the evidence against witchcraft, astrology, and caprice in nature? This question you can answer easily by a simple test. Take the subject with which philosophy has to deal and see whether you can hold yourself absolutely true to evidence and care naught for appearances and the decision of the multitude. To some in the class this is not an easy thing to do. Are you sure that if you insist on denying theism and holding on to the show world of sense in spite of all the evidence which epistemology presents, — are you sure that with only the data of an earlier age you would have escaped its error and folly?

But why do I lay so much stress on distinguishing between appearance and reality. Granted that the appearances are illusions, one rowing can steer by stars in a pond which do not exist, and why not follow these appearances since they are so good for a practical life? That is just my point. It narrows your whole existence down to what you call practical life; it destroys your manly existence and makes you merely a social animal. It determines the question of your psychological climate.

If you look over your past experience you will find those moments in your existence when you came the nearest to being your true self — when you were half conscious of a reserve power of manliness that made your ordinary life seem mean and narrow — were moments when you could look through the material as through a veil and be conscious that it was not all. It may have been at a time when some rank injustice made the blood boil in your veins. It may have been when you were reading some deed of heroism in war like that stated by Mr. Forbes which he calls the bravest deed he ever saw, or like that of Cushing in blowing up the Albemarle, or that of Graham in his lone and single-handed capture of the rebel guerrilla. When you look at such men as these, can you think for a moment that they were selfish? Does there not shine through their heroism “the light that never was, on sea or land?” in these moments of daring can you not realize something in your own heart that gives you a feeling of kinship? If not how could you admire their deed? Is not the true explanation of your admiration the words of Fichte?

“the Eternal One
Lives in my life, and sees in my beholding,
Naught is but God, and God is naught but life.”

II

1. Everybody philosophizes; this is only saying that everybody has some idea of the world in which he lives. Even the child or the savage has his ultimate premises from which he reasons to the particular facts about him. Aristotle used to say that we must philosophize, and if one saith that he may not philosophize (of course the statement would mean nothing unless

he gave some reason to support it, and a reason would imply certain premises in the light of which his statement was a conclusion), therefore in that very statement he doth philosophize and must.

2. There are two methods of philosophizing; we call these the literary and the scientific. The literary discards all evidence; it creates a universe, say, for instance, fairyland, and cares for only two things: (*a*) that it shall be an attractive universe; (*b*) that it shall be fairly consistent. It will be noticed that this is not real creation. As the man born blind cannot originate the idea of color, so the author and the dreamer find every factor of their imaginary world in their own experience. Fairyland has three dimensions to its space, so has ordinary experience. In fairyland the genius is visible and then invisible, so is the dew on the grass or the moisture in the air. In fairyland they talk and sing, and touch and taste, but there is no trace of any more sense perceptions than we have in everyday life. The creations of the imagination differ from those of experience in two particulars only. First, the elements derived from experience are combined differently, and secondly, while the known factors are added the particular ones of daily experience may be left out. It would be very easy to assume that a certain messenger of the gods was not subject to the law of gravitation. In all other particulars he might be a human being, but this very attribute in his case might be entirely omitted. We might find a witch who could live without food, or who could pass through fire without being burned, or who could take the most deadly poison and suffer no harm, but in every other respect be like ordinary mortals. Such a person would be human with the exception of these three

attributes: anabolism and katabolism of the nervous system, chemical changes effected by heat, and chemical changes caused by particular drugs. You see it is simply a case of abstraction. Now all such philosophizing as this is pure fiction. It is simply a romance, or a tragedy, or a comedy; and those who accept such philosophy are simply dogmatics, as much so as the schoolmen in the Middle Ages. They are simply fossils who have not yet found their way to a museum, or relics of a primitive civilization where the struggle for existence was not quite severe enough to cause all the unfittest to perish.

Scientific philosophizing is solely a matter of evidence. The investigator does not ask what is the universe, or what may it be, or why could it not be so; his whole inquiry is, What does evidence reveal concerning the actual world in which we live? Having found that appearances are deceitful and having discovered that the senses give us simply effects, he considers that any attempt to appeal ultimately to sense perception as the basis for knowledge of things as they really are is so ridiculous that every honest man can have no respect for those who deliberately make the attempt. He can see no difference between these people and the heathen who set up graven images made by their own hands for their gods, and then fall down and worship them as their creators.

Here, then, is the line of cleavage which runs through humanity. All start in ignorance in childhood and all attempt to get some conception of the world they live in, and all make blunders. But some fall back simply on the imagination, and postulate a world dogmatically which is gained through abstraction from their own experience. Others attempt a

scientific analysis of their experience and insist on weighing evidence, and then they take this great step, namely, they affirm that concerning the things for which we have not a vestige of evidence we must speak and act in exactly the same way as we do concerning the things that do not exist. There may be witches, there may be a fourth dimension space, there may be other universes besides our own in which the whole range of mythology is true; but we are humble finite beings, and the only way we can distinguish between superstition and fact is to limit ourselves to evidence, and until we have evidence of witches, a fourth dimension space, and mythological deities, we cannot let these things enter as a factor into our thinking or into our lives. Human nature is a country like Holland; it is below the sea level of superstition. The tidal wave of fanaticism has rolled over human history again and again, wrecking all that was fair and promising and leaving behind only death and moral pestilence. Against this terrible disaster there is only one protection. We must build dikes around human nature, and the only dikes that will stand will be those constructed on evidence. Then men may live in peace and safety. He who destroys those dikes is the arch traitor of the race. He is attempting to again flood humanity with passion and credulity. Look back through history and see what a sad record it is. Mothers offering their own children in sacrifice to imaginary deities; hecatombs of human victims slain to avert pestilence; men made in the image of God languishing for years in foul caves till they became as insane as one possessed of the devil, hoping thereby to atone for crimes that had no existence; the whole human race absolutely blind to the beauty of nature,

ignorant of the infinite wealth of the soil and the mines, living in a universe governed by law and finding there only caprice and fraud; not men sitting in darkness but blind men walking in great light, all because they were hypnotized by fanaticism and persecuted evidence. Living the life of tradition and imitation, a life of brain paths worthy only of the ape, they refused to exercise the God-given power of weighing evidence that would transform their world from chaos into cosmos, lifting them out of their slavery and giving them the liberty of the sons of God. See what a fight it has been to win what little progress in science we have already gained, and then tell me if the man who adopts as his mode of life those processes which, if adopted universally, would stop all progress, annihilate all the achievements of science, and once more enthrone superstition, — tell me if he is not the arch traitor of humanity, the enemy of civilization, the incarnation of a fiend himself.

If this world is governed by law, law is by its very nature universal. There can be no exceptions, given the conditions. Therefore whenever a man claims the privilege of being an exception, and adopts modes of thought and of life that he would not approve if every one else did exactly the same under the same conditions, he confesses himself to be unscientific, lawless, criminal. He stands self-condemned, and when he condemns himself he cannot wonder that others join in the condemnation.

Here we have the issue before us. Shall a man walk in the light, or shall he close his eyes and walk in darkness when there is great light? I freely grant that any finite being who attempts to weigh evidence will necessarily make mistakes; that is the penalty of

being finite. But will he escape mistakes by refusing to weigh evidence, or will he make greater ones? If man lives up to the light he has, he oftentimes will be like the man whose eyes Christ opened, and who saw things not as they were, but distorted, for he saw men as trees walking. How ridiculous! But was it not better to see as much as that rather than not see at all. Was that not a great miracle of healing? Was not that period only transient? And did he not soon see clearly and accurately? Would you make that an argument against all sight, and affirm, therefore, that it was the duty of every man to put his eyes out and become totally blind? Yet this is exactly the way a great many reason. Because there have been mistakes made in philosophy, honest mistakes, mistakes that were extremely helpful in climbing to a higher point of view, any number of people would condemn scientific philosophy completely and insist upon falling back on dogmatism.

The choice is between living up to the light you have or doing something infinitely worse. It is not between living up to the light you have or being guided by an infallible instinct that acts blindly and always turns you in the right direction, just as the needle points to the pole. Matter can act that way, but mind cannot. Matter never errs; it always obeys the laws of nature without varying a hair's-breadth. But mind cannot do right without intelligence to guide it. The compass will point to the pole in a fog, but the ship captain unaided by it cannot do it; until he can take observations on the stars and reckon his position he is simply hopeless. That is the penalty man pays for his exaltation. He has got to be something better than matter or he will be infinitely worse. The scien-

tist realizes it, accepts the issue, and determines to work out his own salvation. But the dogmatist shuts his eyes to this fact and does what he can for his own destruction. The fact that he sometimes does not get destroyed is due not to himself but to the influence of the environment upon him, provided he is so fortunate as to live in an age when the traditions that he imitates have been produced by a prior science and therefore not wholly in the wrong direction.

In the New Testament we read of an unpardonable sin. We are informed that blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is never forgiven, neither in this world nor in the next. Can we discover what this means? If human beings cannot understand it, if this revelation is wholly unintelligible, then why was it made at all? We are justified in assuming that it has no deep mystical meaning, but is a statement of a plain matter of fact of infinite importance to us. Let us ask what this is? If we turn to the scene described in Matthew representing the Day of Judgment, we find the infinite Judge separating humanity into two classes: those on His right hand whom He calls the sheep, and those on His left hand whom He calls the goats. Is this classification arbitrary or scientific? Has the Judge of all the earth been influenced by caprice, or has He discovered a real line of cleavage in human character? Is His act more than a recognition of the fact that there is a real and eternal difference between men? If you answer that His act is capricious, then you make Him a tyrant. If He has a right to be a tyrant, man has. That is, there is no right at all in the universe; might makes right. But if you answer that there is no caprice about it, simply plain science, then He is not to blame for the distinction; the men themselves are

at fault. Now let us look and see what this fault is. Men differ in wealth, in health, in knowledge, in power, in wit, in wisdom, but none of these constitute a line of cleavage that is fundamental. The wisest man does not know very much compared with all that is to be known. The most stupid man could learn a great deal if he only kept at it through all eternity. The witty man is simply one who emphasizes unusual likenesses and differences between things not too far-fetched, at the same time not too true. His jokes will not bear many repetitions. The moment he becomes serious he may become eloquent, but he is no longer witty. He is related to the truth just about as a tailor is to the statesman. He cuts the garments and makes them fit, but he is only a hand doing his task, or following his profession, earning his living by his trade. He surely would be the last to claim that he differed from others essentially. It is all a mere question of knack or skill. All differences in quantity are insignificant when you have eternity in view. The fundamental problem is not "where we are, but whither we are drifting." If you only give a man time enough, if he is going in the right direction he will make no mean progress. But if he is going in the wrong direction, the more time he has the more hopeless his case. And now what is the right direction? The reply is, weighing evidence and attempting to find the truth. To such a being, no matter how stupid, how ignorant, how weak, truth can be gradually revealed. For him the Divine Being can mark out an infinite future of progress. But a man who refuses to shape his life by evidence, who will weigh evidence only when it favors some pet scheme or plan, or when he can discomfort his enemy, but immediately drops it when it

demands personal sacrifice for himself, — he is the man to whom you cannot appeal through the truth. To do so would be like focusing the sunlight on a man who closed his eyes; it would not make him open them, but close them all the tighter. If a man wants to do wrong, are you going to change him by convincing him that he is doing wrong, or will that confirm him in his career? Take the coward who is running away from the battle to a place of safety. Would you make him a hero by arguing with him and proving to him that he was getting away from the enemy out beyond the reach of their bullets into a place where he could accomplish nothing in resisting them? Or would that make him all the more persistent in following that path? You might use force on him. Then you would be acting and using him as an agent. It would not be his virtue; it would be yours. But we are talking about a man's character itself. If he refuses to weigh evidence and shape his life accordingly, could an infinite God, I will not say do anything with him, but, do anything for him? If he persists in that course all through eternity, will not his case be constantly growing worse instead of better? Has not such a man blasphemed against the Holy Spirit, that is, the spirit of truth, and would not a scientific judge discover in him a total difference as compared with those who have sworn allegiance to the truth? Is not this then blasphemy against the Holy Ghost which neither God nor man can forgive?

Philosophy means literally love of the truth; not love in the sense of like, as a child likes molasses, for everybody must like the truth provided it is favorable to himself. But love in the sense of service, allegiance in the pursuit of the truth, is the real meaning

of the term philosophy. It does not mean that a man is wise, but simply that he is striving to know what is true in order that he may do what is right. It does not mean that he can investigate every problem for himself. When he is sick he will have to call the doctor, when he is traveling he will have to trust a guide; but whose authority will he take? The reply is, he will follow only the leader who has himself allegiance to the truth and who has sought and found it. Now when you condemn such a man, and when you sing the praises of one who sneers at the truth, exactly what are you doing, against whom are you blaspheming? If it be true that without Him we cannot so much as think a good thought, since everything that is good and true holds only of Himself and of us as we partake of His nature, would not Christ say, "Inasmuch as ye do it unto one of the least of these, ye do it unto me"?

I appeal to you as students; in becoming students you do not cease to be men. College is not a little world apart from the rest of the universe governed by different laws from what hold there. It is not fairyland where the particular attributes of moral obligation can be left out; the laws which hold anywhere in the universe hold everywhere, even in college. You are, therefore, now taking sides on this great question. You are either devoting your whole life to the truth and making the sacrifices which it requires or you are blaspheming against the Holy Spirit. What does your college life stand for? You are not indifferent, you are not neutral; you are either assisting or resisting the service of the truth in those about you. On which side has your influence been cast, on which side shall it be cast?

III

THE AIMS AND DIVISIONS OF THE COURSE

I

I HAVE been asked to give an outline of our work this term. As this closes the year, and as with the Senior class it also closes their course in this study with me, I should like to say a word with regard to the aim of our work. I have attempted only an outline course in Psychology, Philosophy, and Ethics. It was all that I really could undertake with two classes beginning the study. It was my conviction that an outline ought to precede all detailed work in this department, for in no other way can a student know just what he is about and see problems in their perspective.

Work in a college like Amherst must necessarily be different from that in a larger institution. There many will be found in every class who purpose to carry either psychology or philosophy so far as to do at least some technical work in it. But this would be true only of a very few here. A large part of our graduates go into business or into law, medicine, journalism, or teaching in the secondary schools, and their welfare must have the first consideration in planning our work.

Three things will have to be emphasized to render students of this type the greatest service. There are certain natural tendencies in human life which must be recognized in a philosophical course in college.

1. The human mind is naturally not philosophical but imitative in its methods of work. I place, therefore, as a matter of first importance the familiarizing of students with the philosophical method of study. President Seelye used to say there is no way to do a thing except by doing it. Only by swimming does one learn to swim, only by actually riding horseback or riding the bicycle does one get the knack of it. It is nothing that can be explained in advance or formulated so that one can follow it mechanically. But when actual work is done in this way the student quickly discovers the nature of the process. He learns the difference between thinking for one's self, actually weighing evidence, standing on one's own feet and drawing conclusions which are his actual convictions, and the mere gaining of information, or imitation, or partisan disputes. He soon realizes that there are certain premises latent or formulated in every one's mind, and that all honest, sincere thinking is governed by these, although few go back so far as actually to recognize them; he realizes that no thinking can have any more stability than the premises on which it rests. When students realize this they are in a position in all their future work in life to look at problems in a more comprehensive and scientific way than the man whose whole life has been spent in imitation or partisanship. Mere technical criticisms, skillful attempts to trick an antagonist, are no longer all there is to discussion. Thinking must be always positive, not negative. If it destroys, this is only a preliminary stage for the purpose of clearing the ground of débris in order that foundations may be laid deep and a lasting structure built. Philosophical thinking is constructive thinking. It is thought

that organizes, that views the part in the light of the whole, and while it knows how to use the microscope, it is careful to remember what is discovered by that process and unite it with all else that has been gained into one organic investigation.

2. It is a natural tendency of the human mind to get lost in details,—we often call it getting side-tracked,—and this is one reason why so many are antagonistic to philosophy. They have no faith that the human mind can take difficult subjects and work them through. They always get lost themselves, and they suppose every one else must. I have sometimes seen a freight car on a spur track on a down grade. Frequently some one had been careless about setting the brakes, and the car was carried along by gravity until it ran off into the bank or into the ditch. Were this car endowed with consciousness, I think it would utter exactly the same explanations which I so often hear from students. It would mistake the spur track for the main line and suppose that it had come to the end of the route. It would say, “I was assured when I started that this route ran through to the port and that I should see the great and glorious ocean when I reached my destination. But here I am at the end of the line, and there is nothing but mud and dirt anywhere in sight. The whole thing is a fraud.” There are any number of people who have absolutely no faith at all in the ability of the human mind to come out anywhere if it once begins to think about serious things. It seems to me worth everything to young men if they can once see for themselves that there is something more to truth than the superficial glimpses and side issues with which ordinary thought is occupied. It creates a spirit of candor and inquiry

and faith in human effort, and at the same time a depth of humility and carefulness as they realize how often mistakes are made. When they come to particular matters of great practical concern in politics or in social reform, they are not easily led away by ranting politicians and yellow journalism; they turn, instead, to the more serious writers, and are patient of discussion that would otherwise seem dull and forbidding. Even if they cannot become specialists, they are like those medical patients who know the difference between a quack and an authority, and put themselves under the guidance of those who are competent to lead. We cannot make all men specialists in philosophy, but I see no reason why all men should not have philosophical standards of work and insist that the authors and reformers and political leaders who receive their confidence or their support shall be earnest seekers after truth, shall weigh evidence instead of dogmatize, shall critically analyze deep problems and get at fundamental principles instead of being side-tracked on unimportant issues.

3. Human nature is naturally deductive, not inductive. The schoolmen during the Middle Ages would never have gone through the treadmill as they did had it not been for this tendency. It is an enormous task to bring students up to really inductive work. Just the moment they think they are there, they relapse into the old ways. For instance, all induction must start with a hypothesis, but not one in ten does that. For this involves first a sympathetic effort to understand the hypothesis, wholly aside from the question whether it is true or false; to understand it not merely in technical terms, but to apply it to particular cases, and see what conception of these cases it would re-

quire. But human nature simply will not do this. Men's first attitude towards a hypothesis is that of antagonism and persecution. They may use wit or they may use vituperation, but whether one means or the other is employed, their first business is to antagonize and persecute every really new hypothesis. They will pick technical flaws in it, put a forced construction on parts of it, and then claim that it contradicts itself; or they will ignore its essential features, claim that it is nothing new, and is not worth investigating. The persistence with which the human mind works in this way would be wholly unintelligible if we did not remember that imitation and persecution were essential features of the "cake of custom" without which primitive civilizations could have had no permanence. All the inherited tendencies of thousands of generations force men to resist and ignore new ideas, that is, to take the common views as the major premise and judge everything else deductively from this light.

Now if a course in college could aid students to overcome this habit and become inductive in the true sense of the term; if it should make them sympathetic towards hypotheses which they are investigating; if it could make them refuse to take advantage of an author's phraseology but be anxious as was Darwin to do him full justice and state his case stronger than he had done himself; if it could help them to acquire the power of starting with this sympathetic attempt to understand a position before hunting round for objections, and to see whether it was supported by the evidence or not—their whole life would be richer, stronger, and infinitely more progressive than it could otherwise be. In social life we are ashamed to make the stranger the enemy as they did in old times. We are

courteous to newcomers and give them a fair chance to show themselves worthy of our confidence before we pass judgment on them, but not so with new ideas. But the good time will come when progress shall be made here. The Bible tells us, "Be not forgetful to entertain strangers: for thereby some have entertained angels unawares." The truly inductive mind is not forgetful to entertain new ideas, new hypotheses, for some have thereby entertained the truth itself unawares.

I do not think this attitude is more peculiar to philosophy than to other subjects. Darwin had exactly the same experience. There were four stages in the discussion of his position. First, persecution and ridicule. This lasted for a long period. But after Huxley, Spencer, and a few others had come to his aid there came a time when men asked, What does he really mean, what is he talking about? and they were surprised to see that his position was entirely different from that which he was accused of holding. Then in the third stage they began to weigh the evidence, look for objections, etc., and now, in the fourth stage, considering evolution as fairly supported by a large amount of evidence, and making it a working hypothesis, we are beginning to translate our other conceptions into its point of view. The second step, you will see, is the hardest one to take. Now it seems to me that every course in philosophy ought to take the students as far as the second step, to say the least, and to send men out into the world who have gotten over their antagonism and hatred to philosophy and are candid enough to give these great problems a fair hearing. If so, their type of reading all through their future life will be entirely different

from what it otherwise would have been. They will give attention to books of merit which, without that course in philosophy, they would have spurned. They will grow with their age instead of being hide-bound and dogmatic; and when others have fossilized and have been left high and dry on the shores of time, they will still be alive and vigorous, yes, and young as Gladstone himself in advanced life. It seems to me that no teacher does his duty by a class of students unless he plans his work so as to throw emphasis upon these three things and make it the fault of the student instead of himself if these results are not secured.

4. I should say that students have a right to demand from the teacher a justification for spending time on the particular subjects that are made so prominent in psychology, philosophy, and ethics; that the instructor ought to connect these with the practical affairs of life, to show what difference it makes whether certain convictions are dominant in the minds of the community or not. In doing this he is pursuing philosophy, not as a method of general discipline, but as a particular study, just as one might study astronomy or geology. If there is no earthly relationship between great subjects investigated by philosophy and the daily conduct of human affairs, then the only benefit many students would get from the course would be the method. Socrates was one time asked why he married Xanthippe. He is said to have replied: "Good horse trainers show their skill by training the most difficult animals; if they can manage these it is evident that they can manage those who are well disposed." It seems to me hardly less than an insult to the home to found it upon such a principle as that. Either a man ought not to be married at all or it should be a love

match. Philosophy is love of wisdom or it is nothing. To take it simply as a means of discipline is unfortunate, to say the least. Unless a student really wants to know the truth concerning these great questions, unless he really wants to see their bearing on life and its issues, he is not a philosopher, however brilliant his recitations may be. A teacher cannot excuse himself from doing his best to interest men, in the right sense of that word, in philosophy for its own sake. It does make a vast difference what conception of humanity is dominant in the public. If man is made only in the image of the animals and that is all there is to him, he is a contemptible being, for he surely pretends to be more. If he is made in the image of God, so that just as truly as we do it unto one of the least of these human beings, we do it unto God Himself, then our whole sense of values will be changed all along the line of social action. And if a teacher cannot inspire his students to see the importance of that question and value it on its own merit, he has failed utterly in his work. The fault may not be his, but the failure is just as much a failure.

II

The aim of the department of Philosophy is twofold: first, to give the students an outline course as the basis of all their future work in this subject; to put them in such a position that in their future reading and study as postgraduates and as professional men they shall understand the bearing of the problems and discussions in this department of study that practical life and literature has thrust upon them. It is hoped in this way to prevent them from seeing either mate-

rial or spiritual truth out of perspective, or from giving undue weight to considerations that are not fundamental, but that often seem to be of great importance when considered superficially. It is claimed that all students, whatever their calling in life, would be greatly helped by such a course, and that no student is qualified for doing advanced work except in connection with such a preparation.

Our second aim is to do such special investigation on particular topics whose bearing and significance have been revealed by the outline course as will best meet the needs of young men who are to take a prominent place as educators or journalists or leaders of thought in the social and political reforms of the age. It is felt that a careful study of the fundamental principles of man's spiritual nature will contribute much towards clearing up some of the unsettled problems with which these men will have to do.

Generally speaking, our work needs to be divided into four topics. First, Psychology. Here we take up a very careful study of the physical basis of our mental life. No one doubts that there is a large factor of our experience which has its roots in our physiological structure, and it is impossible for students to apprehend the truths of our spiritual nature until they can discriminate those experiences which are of a physiological type in their origin. The only danger of materialistic conceptions on the part of the students is a lack of thorough acquaintance with material processes of a complex organic life. When the nature of these is understood, the limits of a physiological explanation of mental phenomena become so clear that the higher functions of the mind are not easily confused.

Our second topic is Epistemology. It is of as much

assistance to students in mental science to be thoroughly grounded in the science of cognition as it is for the student of astronomy to understand the laws of optics. It is simply impossible to do good work in philosophy without a mastery of the more common principles of cognition.

Our third topic is the Outline of the History of Philosophy, where we aim to present the different systems of thought from the point of view of their authors, and enable the student to rediscover in his own experience the great truths which each writer who has been conspicuous in the history of philosophy has added. In this way students can readily comprehend the limitations under each system, and the reason why those who came later supplemented what was incomplete and criticised what was defective.

Our fourth topic is Ethics. This is the inspiration of all our work. We attempt to show that man is not simply a thinking machine, but that life consists in the right estimate of values, and that it is of the greatest importance to attain correct standards of value. Man as a thinking being is largely a spectator in the universe, discovering and formulating knowledge of what already exists. But man as an ethical being is a creator of social and political relations and institutions whose perfection cannot be attained save through a long struggle on the part of the individual and the race towards an ideal. Correct ideals are shown to be as essential to the ethical life of the individual and the community as are correct architectural drawings and calculations in architecture and civil engineering. Our work in ethics is divided into two subdivisions: first, subjective ethics, which deals with the motive of the true ethical life; secondly, objective ethics, which

deals with the processes of the ethical life as it realizes itself in actual existence. We begin with the doctrine of the State and show that actual life is impossible apart from relationships. Then we go on to show that man has no dual personality; he is not endowed with two minds, the one to be used in the sphere of religion and the other in the sphere of government and society; that man is always and everywhere himself; that he has but one set of principles by which to guide his conduct; that love to God and love to man are, from the point of view of the finite, exactly the same process. From this point of view it is impossible to take up the study of objective ethics at all without covering the sphere of the State and of society. We make, therefore, the study of political obligations the very basis of our work. We attempt to show that as gravitation acts according to the same law, whether in the case of a planet or in the case of a pendulum, so man has exactly the same standard of obligation and the same principles of ethical judgment in dealing with human affairs that he has in dealing with God. If the powers that be are all ordained of God, then the law which governs these must be divine. We throw our whole weight on the doctrine that there is no such thing as political ethics apart from divine ethics, and any attempt so to consider human life is an abandonment of ethics altogether to mere calculations of expediency.

NATURE AND SPIRIT

IV

ULTIMATE PROBLEMS—TWO LETTERS TO AN ALUMNUS¹

I

I WAS deeply touched by your kind letter, and I cannot tell you how much I sympathize with you in your great affliction. I cannot speak any words of comfort that will lighten your burden. In all the great crises of life each heart knoweth its own bitterness and others cannot help us bear it. I rejoice that you are bearing up under it so manfully, and I sincerely hope that when time shall have passed and the first shock has become dissipated, you may still find something to cling to in the memory of what you have enjoyed and in the hope of the life to come.

I entirely misunderstood your first reference to the problem of "consciousness and the molecular action of the brain." I thought your line of inquiry was wholly theoretical, and largely from the biological point of view. I fear my references will give you little satisfaction. From the present considerations it would seem to me that your line of thought was more metaphysical. When a physician finds the mental powers failing as the brain goes to pieces, it seems almost overwhelming evidence in favor of the

¹ Of these two letters written in 1904, the second gives a peculiarly valuable view of Professor Garman's way of looking at the world and life.

conclusion that "all thought is a function of the brain." If a tumor on the occipital lobes destroys not merely eyesight, but all recollection of vision, and all power of imagination and comprehension in terms of sight, what must be true of our friends when they put off this mortal frame? Could they have the slightest memory or comprehension of anything pertaining to the material world in which we live? Then when you find the lower grades of intelligence completely annihilated by a tumor on the fibres connecting the different brain centres, what possible value could there be to an immortal brainless existence? But if you go one step farther, and ask, what is there in personality except sense perceptions, abstract attributes derived from sense perceptions, association of the same (including interpretation), emotions or affections, and reflex action or will, at first sight one is inclined to answer, nothing. Destroy these, and you annihilate personality. There is very little materialism to-day, but that which has taken its place seems to me no improvement. Those psychologists who make all thought a function of the brain would be very careful not to make it a product of the brain. A solar spectrum is a function, not a product of the prism, figuratively speaking, but without this prism, or something to decompose or reflect the light of the sun, we have no color; and if consciousness is not a product of the brain, we are still left with the awful problem, Is there any personality — any color, anything concrete — to the mental life without a brain? Is not everything potential and nothing actual, save under the particular conditions of the nervous system? Do I judge wrongly when I formulate your problem in this way? Our interest in immortality is in a

personal immortality. If this is gone, everything is lost.

Our work has tended almost wholly along the lines of sociology the last few years, and our students are continually running up against the sociology that is written wholly in terms of brain paths. It becomes necessary for us at the very beginning to settle the question whether all thought is a function of the brain. This is not a difficult problem when we remember that the brain is a physical agent, and by the hypothesis of those who hold that all thought is a function of the brain it is governed absolutely by physical laws. Now every material particle in the universe has its motion determined by the resultant of physical forces acting on it. It is simply a question of mathematics. There may be other physical forces than those we have discovered, but that does not change the problem. Thought that is a function of the brain must therefore vary with the resultant of the physical forces in the brain, *since every brain molecule must always act along the line of least resistance*. Therefore we are convinced that two and two are four, not because that is "*true*," but because of the lines of least resistance in the brain, due to heredity and environment. Darwin hesitated to trust the convictions of a mind derived from a monkey. It was overwhelmingly improbable that the lines of least resistance in such a brain would square with the truth. No machine, not even an astronomical clock, will run accurately very long at a time, and never does the most perfect machine care a fig for accuracy. Now if all thought is a function of the brain, there is no such thing as "science" and no such thing as "truth" *for us*. A crinkled flash of lightning is neither true nor false, it

is simply *an event*. It may be or may not be exactly like a flash a hundred years ago, but such resemblances or differences are an accident which the flash could never know or care for. If we have the power to weigh evidence and get science, there is some thought whose action squares not with the line of least resistance in the brain, but with the truth, and oftentimes that action will be for the brain the line of greatest resistance. A universal multiplication table does not mean that the lines of least resistance in all brains are the same, which is the most absurd proposition ever stated, but that all sane men "have some thought that cannot be explained in terms of brain action." Here we have it then: Either absolutely no trace of knowledge, no science, no physics of the brain, or "personality is something more than a brain function." This lets us at once into the spiritual life, and leads us to study the laws which govern this spiritual factor. The brain may determine the data that we weigh, just as the witnesses in court furnish the evidence for the jury, but the decision of the jury is an entirely distinct function. Without it there can be no court at all. (Of course the judges may take the places of the jurymen and perform that function, as in the Supreme Court.) Now this power to weigh evidence — and not the data furnished by the senses — constitutes personality. Of course the jury cannot act until evidence is presented, and the power to weigh evidence requires evidence to be weighed. In the beginning of the child's life, this evidence is almost wholly furnished by the senses, and during our whole life we use them as assistants, just as a man uses pen and paper in figuring, and may be completely put out of

his reckoning if some one snatches the paper away from him. But that is only for the moment. He can pick up the threads of his calculation again and go on with his work without the lost sheet, provided he can have another. Now if a disembodied spirit can be furnished with other and more delicate instruments, he can pick up the work he has been doing and carry it on with only a transient interruption caused by the loss of the brain. It would be like a Filipino who had begun his education in his native dialect; if transferred to an American school in Massachusetts without his note-books (left at home), he would indeed be confused until he succeeded in using the new data presented to him, but then there would be no break. It might be that the English language would be infinitely more suited for delicate scientific work than his barbarous dialect.

Now what evidence do we have that this is so? There is where the subject becomes one of metaphysics. No finite being is self-existent, but dependent on his creator. He will live just so long as his creator perpetuates him. It would be necessary for us to consider the problem why man exists at all, why anything finite exists at all, if we are to ask the question how long we are to exist. Now, the answer metaphysics gives to this is quite extended and it is hard to sum it up, but I can just indicate the line of thought. Theism is the only metaphysical position that has any consistent answer to the problem of life. It affirms that there is one law of being for the entire universe, God and man, namely, that "consciousness of subject is possible only through consciousness of object." We cannot think without thinking about something. If God is to continue his consciousness

of self, He must maintain a universe of objects. But unity of self-consciousness is possible only through unity of objects. His universe must therefore be a "cosmos" instead of a "chaos," or He is insane. Perfection of self-consciousness depends upon the perfection of the objects, qualitatively. He must therefore maintain a universe of objects of the highest possible perfection, that is, of beings made in His own image. But the perfection of such a being cannot be made *for* Him; it must be worked out by Himself. No man can know for another, or choose for another, or study for another. Each man must solve his own problems if he is to perfect himself. Others can simply furnish appropriate conditions for him to work in. Now that at once makes the unit of our thought not the race but the individual. It requires eternity for the individual to work out his own perfection. To kill off one generation and start in with the next is to make perfect objects forever impossible, like an artist beginning a picture and wiping it all out. The individual is the only conceivable unit of thought. When the universe is viewed from the divine point of view, that is, if the perfection of God's consciousness can be perpetuated from moment to moment only as His objects are "perfectible," then we have a meaning of Christ's statement, "Because I live, ye shall live also." The personal life of God and the personal life of His creatures become identical propositions. We see how it is that the perfection of man was worth the life of the Son of God. "Not for your sakes, O house of Israel, but for mine own name's sake have I done all this, saith the Lord."

This assures us of immortality that is personal, but not that all men will be immortal. Here we cannot

solve the problem; we must leave that to revelation. Possibly immortality is an achievement, a prize to be won. If some refuse to work out their own character, no one can do it for them; can they hope for the same as do those who progress to perfection? If perfection of subject is bound up with perfection of object, God will exercise His full power to aid in perfecting His objects, but if man is free he can still refuse to progress. If so, will he be perpetuated? or will his chance be given to another? The answer to that question is beyond our horizon. We are concerned with the other, *viz.*, first, the fact that now we are living a spiritual life as proved by the fact of weighing evidence; second, the immortality of those who live that life in its fullness is guaranteed by the law of the divine self-consciousness. As sure as He is immortal, these shall be also. This view shows why so much effort is made to induce men to live the higher life. It gives a meaning to the New Testament.

Not but that there may be other orders of beings in the universe besides men. But if man can weigh evidence and get real truths, he has "qualitatively" a power as good as God's, for He — with all His omniscience — cannot do better than get exact truth. He has all truth, man only a little, but that is a difference in quantity, a difference unimportant from the point of view of eternity. The process is exactly the same, no higher can exist, *e. g.*, one season's shrub may have the same vital processes as the oldest oak tree. From the point of view of botany one may be as perfect in its life as the other in "quality" but not in "quantity." Now as a Divine Being must square His actions with truth, He must treat all who have the same processes alike. "Law knows no great and no

small. The force that moulds a tear rounds a planet," and in exactly the same way. So if any dependent beings are immortal, all who live the full life of the Spirit must be. There can be no favoritism with Him.

II

You were extremely kind to write me the letter I received this morning. I am deeply touched by it. Those clouds of which you speak have hung over my head and shut out my sky for days and months and years, and I know what Egyptian darkness you have lived in since that sad event came into your happy life. In such times human words seem such a mockery that it takes the greatest courage to speak lest one seem like Job's "three miserable comforters."

What I wrote was the outcome of my own experience. It is not a solution of the problem of evil, of the great mysteries of life and suffering and death, but only a star shining through the clouds, that has been a help to at least one mariner in steering when the storm was fiercest, and the rocks were very near. I have been greatly helped in getting my bearings by the theistic point of view; and there is nothing I desire more than to publish my work if only I can get it in such a form that it will really express to the reader my deepest convictions. With quite a large portion of the material at hand this is not difficult. But the part I am most interested in has not yet been reduced to such a form that I dare to send it out into the world "alone." In the class room my first presentation generally means little or nothing to the students. It has to be drilled in, reviewed, applied, tested, and then I must begin all over anew the next

term, and take each step as carefully as before. This is not a logical age. Evidence has very little influence on most men, even when well-educated. A man will follow conscientiously my argument and at the close forget the beginning and the middle. Nowadays people care for results, not processes. They see things as a whole, not part by part; that which is too large to be taken in at a glance they leave for scientists to examine.

But these are just the people I most want to reach, and I firmly believe it can be done. Each year I get new light on how to do it. But each new class makes me very humble, because they convince me that I have not got along quite so far as I had hoped. At the risk of being tedious I will state my difficulty.

Apart from feeling and will, I can discover only two mental processes, (1) "brain path action," or thought that is a function of the brain, and (2) "weighing evidence," or judgment in the true sense of the word. Illustration: Huxley somewhere says that he has often stood and watched the sun on the western horizon; that over and over again he had tried to realize — to actually make his eyes believe — that the sun did not visibly move but instead the horizon lifted and veiled the disk, but he adds he could never bring himself to that result. As a man of science he "knew" but he "could never realize" the actual astronomical truth concerning "sunset." But, he adds, this limitation, this inability, did not weaken his faith or disturb him in the slightest. There are the two processes in sharp contrast. The public calls the one "pure theory" and the other "fact." Those who are not scientists hold to fact and discard theory as far as possible. My problem is to make

them "see" the things that are "invisible" — not to "prove the truth" of those things, but to make them "see them." Never can I rest till this is done. What is it to "see," as opposed to "know" or "be convinced?" My answer is this: Each idea demands our entire personality — the entire field of conscious life — and will have it unless inhibited. In that case there will be conflict. It will try to crowd out its antagonist and call in "allies" — ideas that aid and strengthen it. The conflict will not cease till one with its allies or the other wins. Now to realize an idea is for it to so fully possess the entire conscious field that its antagonists are *practically* excluded. (By idea I mean not one object, but all necessary to give completeness — to constitute a whole plan, or conception, or event.) Take pathological cases: The insane often know well that the illusion is absurd, but yet it is realized — as much so as when one is looking in a mirror he simply cannot realize that it has a back side. So of passion. The man who is angry, or sensual, or thirsting for whiskey, cannot make the things he knows to be true seem real; they are constantly crowded out of conscious attention; they are mere ghosts, while things favorable to passion are concrete, solid, vivid, as real as a dream before it begins to fade. The same is true of those "obsessions" Janet has so carefully studied. This age is obsessed with (1) the material world, (2) the business world, (3) the social world. An idea that fits into these three worlds has a host of allies and easily gets control of the field of consciousness, and that, too, whether it be a fact (true) or a "fad." It is a case of hypnotism.

The stock objection I have to meet when I give

evidence in which no flaw is discovered is this: "It is not practical," "We could not make outsiders believe it," "That is all theory." Now what is my remedy? Why, simply this:

Begin with the above three worlds and show that either or all together is a mere fragment, not a whole. Just as one must enlarge his physical universe so as to include more than the earth or he cannot calculate or explain the tides or the seasons, just as one must have an astronomy or he cannot have navigation or commerce outside of the coast, so we must enlarge the material world and admit that it is only part of a spiritual universe or there could never exist chemistry, or physics, or physiology, or the science of evolution. Physical nature never studies science. The stars have studded the heavens for thousands of years, but they never studied astronomy. That, and all science, is the work of consciousness. If consciousness is merely a brain function, science is no better than Greek mythology. But consciousness is absolutely limited to itself; works according to its own laws only. Grant that it weighs evidence, it weighs *only the evidence concerning itself, only concerning the data that are present in consciousness: e. g.,* if ever the mind gets truth it is in mathematics. But what is that truth? *e. g.,* What is geometry? Why, merely the truth concerning "three dimension space." But what is this space? We answer it is *merely the mental perspective of our phenomena*, just as the space of dreamland is merely mental perspective of dream phenomena. So mathematics do not take us one hair's-breadth out of consciousness, neither can any effort. To recur to Kant's illustration. We know that no effort at flight can ever take the bird beyond

the atmosphere of the earth, because when we know *what* it is to fly we see that it is merely to receive support from the air. So when we investigate what it is "to think," "to judge," "to get science," we see that it is to weigh accurately the evidence concerning the data in consciousness, and to do it according to the *constitution of consciousness* (= laws of thought). So all our science is merely a knowledge of the world of consciousness.

Now if the material world is "*a whole by itself*" and consciousness is "another world apart," we have no physics, no chemistry, no physiology, nothing but various departments of psychology. But if theism is true there is only one world: "In Him we live, and move, and have our being." There is no outside to God. The universe is his mental creation as truly as our dreams are the products of our thoughts, as truly as Shakespeare's Hamlet was the incarnation of the author. If this is true, then we must distinguish between "consciousness" and "my consciousness." By weighing evidence concerning data in "my consciousness," I do discover the truth concerning the constitutional processes of "consciousness," provided that I am subjective to God; just as a triangle, if conscious of self, might discover truths concerning the *space* in which it exists. No line can be drawn between where God ends and man begins, any more than you can say where the ocean ends and the wave of the ocean begins. The finite does not limit the infinite. The infinite includes (not excludes) the finite. Then the material world is indeed external to me but not to God's consciousness; that is, the material world is only *a part* of the spiritual universe, as much so as heaven. Physical law is merely a

statement of the way God's mind works when it does a certain kind of work, just as "logical laws" are a formulation of the way the human mind works when it does "judicial tasks." Only on this basis can a finite mind, "by weighing evidence concerning its own data," *i. e.*, by *studying itself*, discover "physical laws." Take any problem in physics: is it soluble, or not? If not, why spend time on it? Why build a laboratory to investigate it? Data are worthless if they cannot aid in a solution. What, then, do we postulate when we *investigate nature*. The answer is perfectly clear when we realize what we are doing. Unless nature is "rational" through and through — that is, is *spiritual* — no solution can be hoped for. The laws of thought can *be known* as good only *for thought and its products*. If there be a world outside of and apart from consciousness, it were as absurd to affirm that the laws of our thought (that is, the true constitutional nature of our consciousness) rule there as it were to affirm that the constitutional nature of space must also govern time. A law is nothing but a statement of how a thing acts under certain conditions. But how a thing acts or exists under these conditions is determined by its constitution. Therefore a law can hold only *of things having the same constitution*.

All knowledge is vicarious. I learn of nature not by study of nature first hand, for I can never get it first hand; I learn of nature only *mediately, i. e.*, through study of self, and of my mental pictures gained by aid of senses. These pictures are simply effects in consciousness, "*impressions*." I study them to learn how the laws of consciousness require them to have been made. Vicarious knowledge is absurd if the things are really distinct, but the easiest attain-

ment in the world if things are all modes of activity of the same infinite mind. For example: The chemist analyzes the water drawn from the faucet in the laboratory; well, what of it? Why he proceeds to say what is true of the drinking *water on my table* (vicarious knowledge). How ridiculous if there are several water-works in town, and I am not on the same system as the laboratory. How simple if every faucet in town draws from one water main and reservoir (provided we have the same conditions, *viz.*, that no workmen have tampered with the local pipes). Take the humblest rustic, tell him some mythological story of ancient days. He listens, no matter how marvelous it may be; but when you tell him that which is not merely strange but "contradictory," clearly so, he listens no longer. Then he criticises, he denies. He does not hesitate to set himself up as judge on such matters. How does he know about those early days? Well that question is simple enough. He constructs the terms of your story in his own conscious field of view, realizes them, then weighs evidence concerning the nature of consciousness to see if its constitution would allow of their existence in such a way. If clearly they are impossible for his deepest consciousness, he affirms that "nature" never could have witnessed such a scene.

There you have it, vicarious knowledge, and what does it mean? What right has the rustic to make his own spiritual constitution the standard of the material universe and give laws to past events? But if this cannot be done, what becomes of historical criticism as well as of science?

In the business world, we have the same vicariousness over again. No business without law of some

kind. Two may agree in a trade and use the same standard (law), or the law may be forced on them by government. How can one give or offer law to another? How can Congress say what my law shall be? Here we have vicarious volition as in science we have vicarious cognitions, and all the arguments recur here.

There can be no government without judicial function. The governor must judge before he acts. Now, how judge the subject? Take one form of judging as stating the question, *viz.*, "jury trial." The accused is affirmed to have had malice aforethought. He says, I am a foreigner, my heredity is not yours. My mind follows different laws from those you obey, just as my language is unlike yours. Now, if you had done this deed under similar conditions, you would have had malice aforethought, but not so with me. I had only love. I am the only witness of what occurred in my mind. I testify, and you can call *no eye-witness* to deny it. But the jury *shut themselves up in their room and study themselves*. If necessarily they would have had malice under such conditions then they *affirm* the same of him. Now *how can the jury judge him vicariously any more than they can punish him vicariously?* Some day I hope to make the world "realize" as well as know these two things: (a) that we "judge," "feel," and "will" for nature and our fellow-men vicariously, and must; (b) that it is absurd to make ourselves the standard for others and for nature, if we are distinct beings who may have entirely different constitutions.

It is a large task, but it simply means waking people up, and making them observe what they are doing all the time when they study science, or sit on the jury, or criticise their neighbor. When I have done this, the

question begins to be vital as to what this "constitution," identical in every man and everything, and revealed so clearly in our own consciousness, is striving to realize in this world of objects. Either the question is insoluble, absolutely so, or the answer must come as do all others, *viz.*, vicariously, by the study of self. Either God is not revealed at all and can never be, or He can be known through the workings of our own inner life. Theism proves that we are partakers of the divine nature, made in His image; so in knowing the deepest truth of our own being, we discover the laws that hold of Him. We are more sure of our knowledge of God than of our knowledge of nature or of men, for if these truths concerning ourselves do not hold of Him, how can we know them to hold of things and beings outside of and apart from us? *e. g.*, we are more sure of the truths of space than we are of the planets, for how know them if geometry is false? When we begin to seek a solution of the "riddle of the universe" by the only process open to us, we come directly to the answer given in Scripture, "Not for your sakes, O house of Israel, but for mine own name's sake have I done this." Self-realization is the ultimate impulse of self; not merely to exist, but to exist in the fullness of one's power, in the completeness of life which is the perfection of (1) self-consciousness, (2) self-direction and control, and (3) self-appreciation or valuation. This alone is personality. The self is ever striving for true personal existence. What a crushing affliction it is to be prevented in any particular from attaining this goal! How one dreads disease that shall impair memory and sanity (which gives us consciousness of a false self)! How one dreads passion (that takes away self-control and makes one a slave)!

How one abhors conceit or melancholia (which destroys the true valuation)! How this age worships money, not because it gets pretty things, but because it gives the possessor so much power, *i. e.*, enables him to realize his will without hindrance, so increases one's importance when used rightly, and thus increases valuation!

The next question is, How is self-realization for God and men possible? The answer is the one I have already outlined — "Consciousness of self or subject is possible only through consciousness of objects. A worldless God is as impossible as a Godless world." Perfection of self-consciousness is possible only through perfection of objects. Unity and identity of self-consciousness is possible only through unity and identity of objects. I can be sure that I am the one who wrote this letter only when I can identify the letter. If the letter has been destroyed and another brought into existence, then I must begin all over new unless I can identify the new as a phase of something old that has not changed. Hence if God is to be eternally self-conscious, then some of His objects must be immortal. "Because I live, ye shall live also."

The last question is very difficult. If perfection of self is possible only through perfection of objects, then the universe must be perfect or God is not. This is the problem of evil. I can only outline the investigation. The physical world is not complete, but it is perfect in the sense that there is in it no violation of law. There has never been a moment when it has failed to obey in every part. Hence when first created it was "all very good." But God could not create man perfect, since human perfection must be

man's own achievement or it is nothing. If the government puts a soldier at the ballot-box and forces each citizen to vote rightly, then no citizen votes at all; the government has suspended suffrage. Moral right must be the man's own act, and he cannot have the power to do moral right unless he has the power also to do wrong. Either God must not create man at all, or He must create him in His own image, and give him power of *choice*. God must then persuade, educate, assist; He cannot compel a right act on man's part. If God has made a universe that does all that can be done to persuade, educate, and assist, then when evil comes *the blame is on man*.

This is clear enough in some cases but not in others. The question is one of fact, not of principle. Is everything that infinite wisdom and love could devise done to influence men to do right? Surely not, for we can think of many things that would have diminished particular evils. But here we are met with the question, Is the "lack" the fault of God or of man? Surely God can do more by working through men than by working directly, *e. g.*, students have more influence with each other than the teacher has over individuals. There are some in every class the teacher can reach only as he influences their friends to higher ideals. A mother can do more for a child than any other being in the universe, therefore, if the mother refuse and fail, the defect may be one that cannot be made up. Possibly much of the want of influence for good to-day is due to the failure of previous generations to be co-workers together with God. Then there are other cases where a direct act of God might influence a particular man, but only through injury to others, *e. g.*, a policeman might save a citizen

from being run over by shooting the frightened horse, but to do this in a crowded city might be to wound several not otherwise in danger. If a mother refuses to train her child and leaves him to bad associates till he is on the threshold of crime, possibly God by a voice from the sky, or a thunderbolt, might restrain him. But if he did this every time a mother was faithless, few mothers would feel much responsibility, and many would make God a "nursery-maid" to look after their young. Whatever good might come to individuals, the world as a whole would lose the uplift of a mother's devotion.

Now these are only questions. We no more have the data to answer them than a soldier in the thick of the fight can decide whether his general is doing everything possible for his safety and success. Finite beings would need to know all the secrets of God in order to judge concerning a particular case, such as that which happened to Purdue University last fall, when seventeen were killed by a railroad accident. Some one was careless. Why did God allow the students to suffer? Couldn't He have prevented it without doing harm to society in general? We can never answer. We know that it would be great harm for Him to remove all responsibility from officials by always preventing accidents when there was carelessness. But we can never have in this life the data needed to decide this case. A soldier is in a hard place, it looks as though his officer might help him, but he cannot see the whole field, so he does not try to decide; he does his part as well as possible and waits till the battle is over and the facts are revealed, *i. e.*, he walks "by faith and not by sight." If he knows his general to be able and careful, this is easy; if not, it is impossible.

So with us: if we know God, if we really understand the impulse that dominates Him, we can walk in the battle of life by faith that "He doeth all things well," though man may not. We can believe that when the facts are known in the other life we can find nothing to criticise *in Him*, though much to blame in *our fellow men and our ancestors*. We can have perfect confidence in His justice and love while we most deeply regret the sad results of man's crime. So the more confidence we have in our knowledge of a personal God, the easier to have faith in any particular crisis. If we have faith in Christ and believe Him to be "God in the flesh," we could not imagine that He would ever fail to render all the help in His power to any one in need, provided He did not thereby do wrong to the cause of human progress and human responsibility. Whether we have such faith ourselves or not, we can understand the faith of Paul and John and the thousands of Christian martyrs. Lack of faith is due more to individualism than any other cause, *i. e.*, we feel that God might deal with us alone without also affecting the world about us. So students seem to think a teacher can excuse them without establishing a precedent that others would reckon on. But we are more than individuals; society is an organism, and what God does to one, He does in some measure to all. It simply cannot be otherwise. As a teacher, over and over again I would like to develop a line of investigation in the class that would help one man, but to do so is to confuse and discourage the whole class, so the hour cannot be so spent. So Christ says "many prophets and righteous men desired to see (in their day) the things ye see, but did not see them." Christ simply could not come till the

fullness of time. It was David's loss, but the race gained.

But what are we to do with the cruelty in nature, such as volcanoes, sickness, and the like?

Must we not here consider *process* rather than *product*, as for example, in railroading we admire the process of transportation, even if great disaster comes when through ignorance it is wrongly used. If God has created chemical elements and physical forces that, *when used correctly*, constitute a universe exactly fitted for a society of human beings inspired by the highest virtue, then when men are ignorant and selfish and fail so to use nature we cannot blame nature. Electricity left wild in nature is the thunderbolt, but used by science it is the telegraph, trolley, electric light, and a thousand other things; so we do not condemn electricity because of thunderstorms. More than that, man (the race) by learning how to use it properly attains self-development, lifts himself to the highest level, and becomes co-creator with God in making a beautiful world. In the past these physical evils have been problems for man to solve; solving them taught him how to solve others till he valued the power to unriddle more than its products. God would be a poor teacher if He did not allow His pupils to depend largely on themselves for the answer to their problems. He does not encourage the use of a "key" or "pony," and in that way He has made a wonderful civilization, but it cost heavily.

Here, then, is another question which we can answer only here and there; the full reply can come only when science has done its utmost in mastering the forces of nature. Possibly, then, physical evils can either be controlled or predicted and avoided. Volcanoes are

products; the processes are those chemical and physical ones familiar to our daily life, and, rightly used, of infinite worth to man; not for a moment could we consent to have steam lose its power. Already science has discovered much good from volcanoes and done something to discover their laws so as to give ground for hope that some day we shall know much more. Should the time come when their activity can be anticipated they would work good and the harm could be avoided.

I have a similar line of thought with regard to disease. Microbes are necessary to health, also to agriculture. Possibly pathological microbes aid in creating resisting power in the race. Should it be possible to discover that science can do this work better, and at the same time prevent the development of such species (as we now are beginning to hope in case of malaria, etc.), then another problem would have been solved, another step in progress taken. We should have the good and avoid the harm, and we should realize that, had not the problem *been very pressing and very serious*, men would never have put forth the tremendous efforts needed to solve it, and so would never have gained the advantages. But we cannot now answer these questions. As science advances, our faith increases. That it is in the power of the race so to use every material thing as to derive from it only help, that in a perfect civilization there should be "nothing to harm," is the wonderful prediction of the book of Revelation. The word "city" in ancient times stood for civilization. The New Jerusalem does not mean heaven, for it descended from God out of heaven. It is here on this earth. Does it not mean a Christian civilization? a state of human

perfection where the race has been lifted by religion to its highest development? Is not such a state one that will see the perfection of science and the arts? Will not such a time realize the old prophet's vision that then "they (the forces of nature) shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain?" If ever that time comes, would not the problem of evil seem much easier?

You see I have tried to state the question, not to answer it. We must discuss the problem in terms of the race, not of the individual. We must not consider nature as a whole but only as a part, and man as the other factor. Perfection is in neither alone, but only comes when each is doing its full share. Nature is never behind man's intelligence; when he is aroused to explore, nature is there to reveal her secret. God sees the end from the beginning; only when man can so view it can he substitute sight for faith. Faith, then, has a distinct sphere. Not to take the place of evidence when considering the problem of God's existence, His nature or His personality; those are questions for philosophy. But if these are solved, if we know Him, then we turn to considering His work. Is it perfect or is it wrong, and does it not reveal neglect and defect in His moral character? Here is the sphere of faith. While the building is being constructed, the onlooker cannot see beauty in the ugly piles of stones and timber. Yet if he knows the architect directly he may have faith (he cannot have sight) that each stone is best suited to its place in the grand whole, and that the temple when finished will have no flaw. But this faith must rest on knowledge of the person back of it all.

Excuse this long letter. I fear it will weary you.

The point I want to make is that every difficulty that develops in religion develops equally in science, society, and business. Then I want to show the sphere of faith; it does not supplement knowledge, but is rather the morning twilight of knowledge. Nowhere in business or society or politics or war can we live by sight alone. Sight we must have; we must know the men we trust or we are credulous and criminal. But when we know a man he is not a machine. The question whether his present conduct is just and kind cannot be decided *a priori*. We must have all the data that he himself has, must view the part in the light of the whole, and that takes time. So for the present we must let our knowledge of Him in general be the basis for faith in His honor in a case where we cannot yet see. Without such faith no business, no society, no family, no comradeship. Such faith toward God is a necessary limitation of our own finiteness. It will not always be necessary, for over there we shall know even as we are known, but not here.

Just a word in answer to your second question concerning mysticism, and as to which mind we are to trust, the healthy or the afflicted. Pardon me for having written to such length. I cannot agree with James when he says the healthy mind is not convinced by the arguments for theism. I do not think mysticism plays the part he ascribes to it. The question he might claim for "*realization*" (see sheet 1),¹ but not for "*conviction*." The healthy mind is concerned with action, achievement, getting things done. But this requires concentration of attention. The executive must single out some one sphere of action

¹ Above p, 108.

and neglect others, that is, take a part for his temporary whole. A very limited idea fills his entire field of consciousness. This is "realization" most vividly in his sphere; but outside of that he more and more fails to realize. Take a college athlete when the football excitement is at its height, or a soldier in actual war, or a business man in a crisis in Wall Street. Now let these men be thus occupied for a long period. How much can each realize in the other's "sphere." Did General Grant size up the business risks as a Vanderbilt would. Does this mean that Grant was a healthy mind but Vanderbilt a "business mystic?" No, the whole is a matter of attention (plus habits of attention). The man in health and prosperity simply cannot make death a personal reality to himself; it is a bare generality, a ghost, a mere conviction. (See James's smaller *Psychology*, page 451.) But the sick man has his attention forced upon sickness, failing strength, pain, etc., and with these experiences death is quite in harmony; so in time this idea and its allies get control of consciousness and he *realizes* that *he*—not others—but *he*, is mortal. Is sickness mysticism? No, the mind is just as normal, perhaps, in certain diseases as in business, but the attention is different, includes things formerly overlooked. You see my position. Affliction often does lead men to think of life from a different point of view—to consider data generally overlooked—and so often does help them to "realize" what seemed "unreal" before. The Bible says "the Captain of our Salvation was made perfect through suffering." It may be that without affliction the attention will not consider seriously the larger view of life, that mere prosperity narrows one's horizon.

But does it give us a new mind? create new gifts? or is the mind always and everywhere the same thing, namely, itself governed by the same laws — (1) those of brain paths, (2) those of weighing evidence — and by these laws alone. If so, the only question is, (1) as to whether it is awake or asleep, (2) what data are presented to it. The only meaning I can get for mysticism fits this interpretation. When I go to Russia or Germany I am conscious of, *i. e.*, “realize,” an influence which I cannot define (formulate). I call it a “Zeitgeist,” or “mental atmosphere,” or “magnetism,” or by many other names. But what I mean is that I have presented to me something I have not analyzed or formulated and did not attend to when I was in America. I have this experience concerning every person of decided personality. It takes a long time to know, in the sense of analyze and label. So of an author’s style, there is a “flavor” a magnetism, etc., — but is this mysticism? Ask an athlete, a tight-rope walker, how he does it. Ask a “cowboy” how he knows he holds his gun on the object, or a painter how he selects his “pose” or his “colors.” Ask a general how he knows that the enemy is getting discouraged, and they all give the answer of mysticism: “I can’t tell you,” “I do not know how I do it,” “*I feel it in my bones.*” Now is this mysticism, or is it sense perception (but “undefined,” unanalyzed) plus the training and habit gained by judgment? So that “*realization*” comes instantly instead of by a long, slow, conscious process. When a person is learning a difficult feat he has no mysticism, but after he becomes a professional and realization takes no time, then there is mystery about his success. Isn’t “apperception mass” a better word?

A doctor as a result of his training turns his attention instantly to symptoms others might overlook, and so reaches a judgment concerning the patient instantly, perhaps. He differs from the layman, not in having some miraculous power of mind, but in having *an experience* that now directs attention. This stored up experience is not a definite memory, but rather a series of memories and habits that he expresses by the word "feeling" or "impulse." Now if we sustain an immediate relation to God, if all our springs are in Him, if without Him we cannot so much as think a good thought, none of us have exhausted the supply of strength and help received from Him. But we get used to the ordinary supply of mental life from day to day. We study, analyze, define our conduct and take it for granted. This we forget comes from Him, so we call it our own. But in a crisis when we really wake up, when we "realize" another side to life but do not succeed in measuring it, or limiting it, we have a new experience, new data, as truly as when a young man first falls in love. It is perfectly normal but new, vast, unstudied, unfamiliar. Then we notice the source is beyond the self. But is it mystical in any other sense of the word? If God deals directly with me, He is limited by my constitution. If I teach a class, I am limited by their capacity. Freshmen cannot take up the Senior course. Christ could not do many mighty works in a place because of their unbelief. Anything that changes my capacity will change the limitations that I place on God's dealing with me. If affliction fixes my attention for a long period of time on new and unusual data so that I get a larger experience, a nobler purpose, then He can give me greater resources, more delicate guidance, greater support

than before. But did He give nothing before? Has some new law come into my being, or am I awake whereas before I was unmindful of the source of events? In the sense that man has a direct and personal relation to God and receives help from Him as the electric light receives from the dynamo, I am a mystic.

But to me there is no new kind of life in affliction. Therefore I find no problem in James's distinction between the "ordinary healthy mind" and "the mystic." Which is to be trusted? I answer, neither as such. Because I am healthy I am not guaranteed against error unless I give attention to all the data essential. Because I am afflicted I am not guaranteed against fanaticism unless I "believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they are of God" or of men.

You see my argument: "realization" is delightful, but *it is not the test of truth*. The fact that we realize cannot make conviction and weighing evidence unnecessary. The fact that we cannot realize a truth ought to disturb us no more when the evidence therefor is sound than Huxley's inability to realize the truth of sunset made him waver in his astronomy. On the other hand, we may never completely analyze and formulate the largest experiences of the deepest spiritual life, but these realizations so precious to many are no more to be discredited on that account than is the "feeling in his bones" of the artist and the general and the athlete. Why? because analysis is not the only way to weigh evidence. Men do judge "roughly" as well as minutely; given a large number of cases, a long experience, its *trend* becomes very definite. This is what the chemist calls, not "analysis," but "con-

struction." When he takes elements and puts them together and forms a compound, he is weighing evidence as truly as in analysis. Common people are poor at analysis but fairly good at construction. When a man has tried a spring of water for years and derived only great benefit therefrom, and all his friends and neighbors have had the same experience, that fact will receive due weight with the chemist in judging of the medicinal value of the water. Caution is needed here, but some weight must be given provisionally.

Feeling seems to me to be only an indirect test of truth. Primarily feeling is concerned not with truth, but with *values*. My feeling does act as a bias to control attention, and so aids or hinders in getting truth; but the value of a given truth, rather than the truth itself, is its work. Christ weeping over Jerusalem "valued" very differently the city and its character than did many of the Pharisees who would have agreed with him as to facts. But what others call feeling I feel sure is often an unformulated judgment or a vague cognition gained by experience or habit.

I must stop abruptly here. The above is only an outline, a suggestion. It will hint to you my line of thought.

V

A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE COURSE¹

OUR course in psychology is often criticised as involving two parts: first, the negative work which is understood to be an undermining of the student's faith, and a familiarizing him with various objections of a more or less philosophical and scientific type which leads strongly towards materialism. The view is strengthened by the fact that the students do become more or less unsettled in their views at a certain stage in our work. The second part of our course is supposed to be positive in its nature; it is supposed that, taking the students with their foundations all undermined, we then proceed to do what we can towards giving them positive conceptions concerning God, and duty, and nature.

Many friends of the college, and indeed some of the students themselves, would feel that an illustration of our work might be drawn from the fate of Chicago, which had to be destroyed by fire in order to be rebuilt on a much broader scale. No doubt that to the city as a whole the fire was a blessing, but to individuals it was enormously expensive.

My answer to this criticism is that while unjust, there is just shadow enough of truth in it to make an explanation needed.

¹ This manuscript, dating probably about 1897-99, to judge from the reference to Titchener, was indorsed, "For the Printer," but has not heretofore been printed. It was apparently intended for some audience outside the class room.

1. No teacher has a right to ignore entirely the age in which he lives, and the point of view that is prevalent in the department that he teaches. The new psychology has broken absolutely with philosophy, and claims to be science; it goes farther than this, and claims to be a psychology without a soul. Take the following quotation from Professor Titchener, whose recent work has received very favorable notice:

“The question: Is there anything behind the mental process, any permanent mind? If there is, what is its nature? — is a question which has often been asked, and which it is well worth while to try to answer. But it is not a question which can be raised by psychology. Psychology sees in mind nothing more than the whole sum of mental processes experienced in a single lifetime.” It will be seen that to psychology the term “mind” means no more than the word “tune” in music, which is used to denote the sum of the notes that form a continuous relationship with each other.

Take the following quotation from Professor James: “It is indeed true that physiological science has come to the conclusion cited (that our inner life is a function of that famous material, the so-called ‘gray matter’ of our cerebral convolutions), and we must confess that in so doing she has only carried out a little farther the common belief of mankind. Every one knows that arrests of brain development occasion imbecility, that blows on the head abolish memory or consciousness, and that brain stimulants and poisons change the quality of our ideas. The anatomists, physiologists, and pathologists have only shown this generally admitted fact of a dependence to be detailed. What the laboratories and hospitals have lately been teach-

ing us is not only that thought in general is one of the brain's functions, but that the various special forms of thinking are functions of special portions of the brain." Professor James then goes on to speak of the work of Professor Flechsig, who carries brain localization still farther, and accounts thereby for the complexion of our emotional life, and eventually decides whether one shall be a callous brute or a criminal, an unbalanced sentimentalist or a character accessible to feeling and yet well poised. He then goes on to say, "Such special opinions may have to be corrected; yet so firmly established are the main positions worked out by the anatomists, physiologists, and pathologists, that the youth of our medical schools are everywhere taught unhesitatingly to believe them. The assurance that observation will go on and establish them more and more minutely is the inspirer of all contemporary research. Almost any of our young psychologists will tell you that only a few belated scholastics, or possibly some crack-brain theosophist or psychical researcher, can be found holding back, and still talking as if mental phenomena might exist as independent variables in the world."

For the purpose of my argument now, I wish to adopt this general doctrine as if it were established absolutely, with no possible restriction. During this hour I wish you also to accept it as a postulate, whether you think it incontrovertibly established or not, so I beg you to agree with me to-day in subscribing to the great psycho-physical formula: *Thought is a function of the brain.*

When psycho-physical laboratories have multiplied as rapidly as has been the case during the last ten years, and when there is so much evidence to show

that thought is not a function of the brain, but is largely influenced by brain action, it is impossible for a teacher to face a class of wide-awake young men who have been reading the magazines filled with such literature without taking note of the views now prevalent.

2. Nor is it desirable that he should do it if he could, for man has a physical nature and it is important that the students should understand their nervous system and learn how to make their brain "their ally instead of their enemy"; learn the terrible consequences of disobeying these positions, as well as the great blessings that may be gained through obedience.

So long as the students do not know accurately the limitations of the physical side of our being, they cannot be persuaded that the brain is not able to account for all that takes place. A careful study, therefore, of philosophy and of the limitations which are obvious is the best possible preparation to make them candid, and prepare for a study of spiritual truths.

3. Therefore, though we take up these problems, and though the effect is to some extent unsettling, yet we feel that our work here is not negative but positive. It is unsettling only in that it is incomplete in the early stages of the course. The subject is so large that it cannot be covered in a single sitting, or in a single term. Therefore in the mean time the students do undoubtedly use their imagination in judging as to where we may possibly come out. But it is positive work, just as the study of the temperature sense and the muscle and joint sense is real, positive acquisition of knowledge, though it can be proved that through these senses we do not gain either sight or hearing. These senses are a part, and as such are as worthy of

study as the latter and more exalted senses. So brain conditions are real; the facts are beyond dispute, and a study of these is as truly constructive work, as truly positive, as anything that comes in our course. It is only when the students fear that this may turn out to be all there is to man that it is unsettling to their religious faith. But this is absolutely unavoidable if the men are to be inspired with the right spirit when they come to the study of the more difficult problems which require more careful analysis, and which cannot be demonstrated by physical instruments.

Our work begins with the law of association as explained in terms of brain action. This involves a study of habit as resting upon a physiological basis.

We next take up physical action or what might be called volition. We find that a nerve current coming in through the senses invariably finds its way out in the muscles through action, if it is strong enough to overcome the resistance of inertia. This is the doctrine of ideo-motor action, that an idea cannot exist in the mind without producing motor effects, at least incipiently. These motor effects may be inhibited by motor power or contrary ideas, but no act of will intervenes between the thought and the action. The function of the will is effort at attention; its sphere is to resist the impulses which would turn our thoughts contrary to its decision, and hold the ideas of its choice before the mind until they completely dominate consciousness. The old view of thought might be compared to the old form of fire alarm. When the alarm was received at the central office, a telegraph operator was needed to read it, and then to ring the general summons. Or we might perhaps compare thought to the clock aboard a loco-

motive which has no power except to indicate time. The whole to be compared to the engineer, without whose services the throttle valve could not be opened and the engine started. Ideo-motor action claims that the engineer has no other function than that of regulating the clock, for the clock is so fixed that automatically, at the proper time through electrical connections, it pulls the throttle and regulates the speed of the train. Perhaps a more accurate illustration would be that of a modern thermostat for regulating our furnaces. Formerly intelligence would be compared to the thermometer which informed us of the temperature of the room. But the furnace would be ineffectual until the fireman should intervene and open or close the dampers. But the modern thermostat is ideo-motor action, and the fireman has no function aside from feeding the coal and supervising the setting of the thermometer.

We then proceed to point out the enormous importance of this changed point of view. Under the old view man might think of evil, so long as he did not will it, without being a criminal. But under this view, as a man thinketh in his heart so is he. The thought is the deed incipiently. The student who holds to the doctrine of ideo-motor action could not frequent the saloon and the slums and justify himself by saying he was simply interested to see human life, while by an effort of will he could keep himself pure. He would realize that one could not take fire into his bosom without being burned, and that he needed no farther consent to degradation than simply the willingness to see.

We next take up the subject of hypnotism and show that the larger part of hypnotic phenomena are simply

ideo-motor action freed from inhibitions of conflicting ideas. The mere suggestion of the idea under such circumstances sets the mental machinery at work and lets the brakes off. Hypnotism thus shows a tendency of ideas. In ordinary life these tendencies may be restrained in a large measure by conflicting ideas.

This, then, leads to the study of illusions and hallucinations which are found to be based on sensation, centrally excited. It is affirmed that in all probability an impression coming from the senses stimulates exactly the same tracts in the brain that are excited in imagination and memory, the only difference being in the intensity. It is then shown that under favorable conditions this difference can be eliminated, and the centrally excited sensations which we call imagination may have all the vividness and reality of objective experience. These conditions are carefully determined, and a study of these problems is found to lie at the basis of accurate weighing of testimony of eye-witnesses in court and in history, and especially in the testimony concerning the miracles of Christ.

We then take up the subject of sense perception in general, and find that there are always two factors in adult life: the sensations given by the senses, and the apperception mass or associations of our past experience; and that the perception is neither one nor the other of these but a resultant according to certain laws; and that centrally excited sensations appear in the larger part of our perceptions. Notice the mistakes made in proofreading; notice the fact that the blind spot in the eye is always unnoticed, the field of vision being filled in with sensations centrally excited; that the peripheral portions of the eye are

color blind, and yet the sky and landscape are not mutilated in their appearance.

We then take up a more particular study of sensation and we notice that the senses are connected with different centres of the brain, and that these are differently developed in different people. The background of one's mental life, that is, the power to imagine, will differ in different people; some will be eye-minded, others ear-minded, others motor-minded, etc.

We notice that when these brain centres are destroyed, for instance the centre of sight, one not merely loses the use of that particular sense but also the power of imagining color in visual form; he is as though he had been born blind.

We notice that the association of one sense with another, and thus the fusion of sensation into ideas, is due to certain paths connecting these brain centres, and we see that if these paths are injured by tumor then this association becomes impossible; a person is blind and idiotic. Here we study the facts of aphasia and ataxia, and other pathological cases.

We then proceed to enumerate the different kinds of sensation; how many are furnished by the eye, by the ear, etc., and explain the mental tests by which these questions can be answered with precision. This involves laboratory work.

Before going farther we interrupt our psychology to ask exactly how much knowledge is gained through sensation, and here we take up Berkeley and also the Sophists and show that their demonstration remains still unoverthrown; that through sensation we gain only effects of the external world but not a knowledge of that world; that sensation is a resultant

of the stimulus and the receiving agency, but is neither one nor the other, any more than the music of the piano, which is the resultant of the tension of a cord and blow of a hammer, could by any possibility be considered as like or identical with the cord or hammer. We then ask: "May we not through the effect infer the cause?" and this Berkeley attempts to do with the following form of reasoning. It is axiomatic that unlikes cannot act on each other. Now it is universally agreed that matter and mind, if they are distinct agencies, must be unlike each other. It is impossible to define matter as a distinct agency from mind in any other way than by indicating all the attributes of mind. From this he concludes that matter cannot be the cause of our sensations, and therefore the causes of our sensations must be common, either our own or some other mind, either finite or infinite.

We then turn to Professor Huxley in his criticism of Berkeley; he affirms that Berkeley's reasoning is irrefragable; that if he were forced to choose between idealism and materialism he would not hesitate to take Berkeley. But this he refuses to do. We conclude that when a man says the reasoning is irrefragable, but does not accept the conclusion, he must attack the premise. There is but one possible ground of objection to Berkeley's premise, and that is that axioms are simply inherited convictions, as Darwin would say that he hesitates to trust the convictions of a mind derived from a monkey. This implies that all our knowledge is limited to sensations and the association of sensations, either our own or those derived from inheritance; consequently an axiom would be good for experience but worthless when

used outside of experience. For instance, the pronunciation of vowels and consonants in English is learned by experience, and the rustic becomes so familiar with this method of pronunciation that it does not seem to him that any other is possible, but we at once recognize the absurdity of his applying the laws of English to the pronunciation of French and German. Why, then, should we tolerate the application of axioms to the objective world if axioms are simply laws of thought dependent on our experience. Can the laws of thought be proved to be the law of things? If not, Huxley's position is sound and agnosticism is the only true view. Here, then, are two positions brought before us: the one that famous position of Berkeley which accepts axioms without investigating them and makes them apply universally as true without any limitations; on which basis we should be obliged to deny the reality of a material cause for our sensations — but this is to deny the reality of the material world as material. On the other hand, the position of Huxley which would make axioms and all that hangs upon them purely relative, true to us within our limited experience but quite likely as ridiculous to beings differently endowed from ourselves as the college student's pronunciation of French and German would be to a foreigner.

But is this really a question of any practical importance? None of you questions the reality of experience. What odds does it make whether we can come to any knowledge of these cases? Take electricity, for instance. We know what its effects are, though scientists are far from knowing what electricity itself is. Do we need to know? Can we not press the

button and illuminate our buildings just as well if we do not decide between different conflicting theories?

Without attempting a satisfactory answer to the above question with regard to the value of experience itself, which would take us over into the study of Kant at this stage, we notice that there are certain important ethical considerations at stake here. If all knowledge is relative, if the human mind can know only effects, then the highest ethical consideration possible for a human being would be, as stated by the Sophist, nothing more than individual utilitarianism; the individual man becomes the measure of all things.

This would make government and law impossible; one man's meat would become another man's poison. The effects could not be the same except by accident. Our jury system would be ridiculous, for how could twelve strangers know the malice-aforethought of the accused when they could simply know how certain provocations would have affected them. We are thus led to a form of nihilism and individualism which is extreme. Not at all that we attempt to judge of the truth of the position by its effects, but in this way we seek to determine whether the question is important enough to warrant the exact study which a careful investigation demands.

We then turn from the Sophists to Herbert Spencer and take up in his *Data of Ethics* his statement of the doctrine that the ultimate motive of human action must be happiness, and his attempt to show that this is postulated by all those schools of thought who suppose themselves maintaining a different view. Having gotten before the students the fact that to question the value of our [moral standards(?)], to refer them to sensations and associations of sensations

for their originating, is to make some form of utility necessary, we then raise the question as to what stability human society and progress can have on this basis. We take up here certain chapters from Kidd's *Social Evolution* which show that so far as the laws of evolution apply to human life, and there is a struggle for existence with the survival of only the fittest, the interests of the masses must be opposed to such a kind of progress; that the animal world living unaware of such a fact would allow the evolution to go on; that mankind, when they have reached that stage of intelligence which leads them to take their bearings and realize their interests, would discover that such a competition with such results, however much it might benefit the species, is sacrificing the majority of the individuals to the welfare of the future ages. Other factors indeed may come in, and do come in, but assuming that men know only effects and the consequences which may be anticipated from them, and therefore have no higher motive than their own selfishness, must not the masses attempt to suspend this law of competition through some form of socialism, regardless of its consequence to the race? For the greatest good to the greatest number must mean, not greatest good to the greatest number of those now living, but greatest good to all those who shall live in the future; whereas those who are now living, and are by hypothesis interested only in themselves, have no motive furnished by evolution to make the sacrifice which it demands if evolution alone is to work out the regeneration of the race. There is only one alternative, and that is that a man may find happiness in sacrificing himself for others. The highest ethical illustration of this is parental altruism. But this has

been evolved, if it is to be accounted for solely by evolution, through countless generations, starting in with the life of the animal. All parental altruism shrinks and shrivels the moment the age is reached when men begin to calculate their own interests, as in France, and Greece, and Rome. What are the probabilities, then, of an abstract altruism which leads one to sacrifice for those who are not yet born? What are the probabilities of such an altruism being evolved, starting in the hotbed of utilitarianism and calculation of prudence, in two or three generations? Are we not moving in exactly the opposite direction so far as the struggle for existence is concerned? We show that Kidd's reasoning is beyond criticism, if we are to limit human life as Huxley and Spencer postulate we do limit it. Therefore without some other sanction of self-sacrifice than utilitarianism progress could not continue. Now must this higher sanction be ultra rational? Surely it must, and Mr. Kidd is right if intelligence is simply sensations and association of sensations.

But may not intelligence be something more? Is not our true course to study more carefully the whole subject of association and determine whether axioms are so derived? To see if there are not other mental processes which give us true knowledge, true standards of judgment, instead of mere effects and their groupings? The question becomes all the more important when we notice what is the mainspring of human life. Many writers are now agreed that human action is impulsive, that impulse is the source of conduct. But two views are possible. The one, that impulse is like instinct in that it acts blindly and yet may be hindered by intelligence. This seems to be Mr. Kidd's view.

The other view is that impulses are of different kinds and that those that are distinctly human as distinguished from those of the animal cannot be awakened to action save through the proper cognition; that we do not have an impulse to go to the rescue of our friends until we know of the shipwreck and of their presence on the boat, and that if we could be persuaded that they were not on the boat, and that the boat was not wrecked, there would be no impulse to inspire action. From this point of view religious impulses can never be awakened save through a cognition of God, of our relationship and obligations to Him. And anything which awakens these cognitions would disturb the mainspring of our religious life. A good illustration would be found in Darwin, who was originally orthodox, but as he gradually lost his convictions as to the trustworthiness of a mind derived from a monkey, he gradually lost his religious inspiration and with it admiration and enjoyment for our higher literature and the spiritual achievements of men, though he still retained the keenest interest in literature that dealt with practical affairs, even though outside of science. Settling the question, then, as to whether man can know God and duty is determining the life or death of those spiritual impulses which have done most to ennoble the race and inspire human history with justice and self-sacrifice. Of course one can have his convictions without investigating, but that is not true of an age. The spirit of science is abroad in the land; it has already begun its investigations, and it makes a world of difference to the public whether science shall persuade the world that man can know or that he cannot know. When people believed in witchcraft and astrology they ordered their lives ac-

cordingly. Science convinced the world, or the larger part of it, that it had no such knowledge, and then the faith disappeared, and with it the impulse and the conduct. We do not believe that science will ever convince the world that it can have no knowledge of divine and spiritual things, but if it can prove that all our knowledge is limited to sensations and associations of sensation it will, in time, find such conviction an easy task; and it has already convinced some of our bright young men with all the results which we have here predicted. There is, at the present day, among our young men a spirit of epicurean utilitarianism and ridicule for a serious conviction, a lack of sincere patriotism, and a tendency to make merchandise of their country's highest welfare — a spirit which is ashamed of but one crime, and that is the sin of being found out. It is by no means affirmed that the mere conviction of the absolute truth of man's highest cognitions would change the character of these young men; but it is affirmed that no human being can have these convictions and allow himself to think of them without stirring the deepest impulses that human nature can experience in antagonism to such a career, and that when a community is persuaded of these things it bestows no honor upon the transgressor. It is our conviction that in the churches at the present day there is a subtle agnosticism that is sapping the very vitals of life, and that men cannot experience the inspiration of apostolic days without the deep convictions and realizations of the divine presence and of man's responsibility to God which the Apostles had. We take up here a more careful study of human impulse in different grades, and also the general subject of investment of choice, showing that all our deliber-

ate action must have a motive, which motive is either ultimate or is subordinate to some ultimate purpose. There are two supreme choices conceivable; selfishness and righteousness. All those who deny the possibility of man's knowing truth and justice are obliged to reduce human character to retaining a form of self-interest.

We here introduce a study of the times when impulses ripen, beginning with the instinct of the animals, and show that there is a period when, if cultivated, they may be strengthened and perpetuated, but if this time is allowed to pass by, the brain atrophies and the person is unsusceptible to future appeals. This is a peculiarly interesting study as we carry it down to the animal world; it is also the basis of a more thorough understanding of the development of the child, and of the time when he should take up different studies, and especially of the time when his moral and religious life is most susceptibly unfolding.

Having thus brought before the students the real import of our problem, we turn to the subject of association, and ask, Is it possible to derive intuitions or axioms in that way? This involves, first, the study of the nervous system, of reflex action, with the special functions of the hemispheres of the brain, which is extremely interesting and startling in its results. It involves more or less anthropological study, where we trace the influences that have shadowed human evolution and which have dominated the minds of earlier peoples. Tremendous pressure has thus been brought to fix certain ideas and have them inherited from generation to generation. We then come to the particular question, and as a test we select this axiom which has an advantage over all others —

the uniformity of nature under the same conditions. How does the human mind come to get this conviction? for without it, if we believed that nature was not uniform, or had any doubts about it, we could not even have experience ordered with regard to the future. Assume that the laws of nature will change to-morrow at twelve o'clock, and then see how difficult it would be for you to make plans for to-morrow afternoon. Here is a cognition, then, which in order to be valuable relatively must be valuable absolutely. Now, how does the human mind get it? We take up the discussion of this problem as given in Hume and carried on by John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer. Then we show the consequences of making axioms simply dependent on association, with regard to the practical and social problems of life. When we have finished this subject the students feel they have the outline of the most that could possibly be done through association, and then they ask, Does the human mind accomplish something more?

This we take up in the form of a particular topic. Association is a brain function; the brain is governed by physical law; all matter is absolutely obedient, so far as it is matter, to the great law of physics, namely, that of acting along the line of least resistance according to the parallelogram of forces. Now, if all thought is a function of the brain in the sense of being determined by brain paths, would it be possible for thought to weigh evidence? It is shown that you can construct a machine so that it would produce the most accurate results, and the brain might be constructed so that its thinking would be perfect, if it can think at all. But then the reason why a machine gives these results is not because they are true, but

simply because its mechanism makes such products easy, — the line of least resistance, — while all others are impossible. Change the number of cogs, and the machine will just as readily give you some other answer. If, then, brain paths determine my thinking, the reason I say: All men are mortal, Socrates is a man and therefore “mortal,” is not at all because truth requires it, but simply because such a conclusion is the line of least resistance in my brain. But my brain might easily be so ordered that some other conclusion could just as well be affirmed from these premises.

To state the same problem more broadly: all physical action has nothing whatever to do with truth or falsehood. Physical action is simply an event; it neither affirms nor denies any other event. The snow piles up in a drift which may or may not be like the drift of last year, but surely not for the sake of becoming a muddle of what has been or what will be, and if human thinking was brain action it would be neither true nor false; it would be like the ravings of delirium, simply a succession of mental states; just as the squeaking of the rusty hinges of an iron gate is a succession of noises, and that is all. But if that is all, then the human mind has no science even of the brain, even of association, even of evolution; these words simply indicate so many mental states which have no more truth or falsehood in them than has neuralgia or hysterical ataxia. The whole question, then, becomes transformed into this: Do we have any kind of science or not? Do we have physiology or theosophy, or do we have any kind of science? If so, the human mind has the power to weigh evidence — to conclude not along the lines of least resistance, but along the lines of greatest resistance, if need be, for its

action is determined not by habit and association, but by evidence. It can therefore work independently of brain laws — this is not saying independently of brain conditions. It is affirming, however, that its action is not controlled by those conditions. The mind is therefore an agency in the universe outside of and beyond the physical and the physiological. Now if this is so, if the “therefore” in a syllogism means glorious emancipation from the line of least resistance, and ability to square our decision solely according to truth, regardless of the amount of effort that it costs, then these acts of mind must be studied by themselves and their own laws determined, and to insist upon studying them in terms of physics is the height of inconsistency. No physical analogy can be appealed to to settle a mental problem; there is no natural law governing here and in the spiritual world. There may be analogies, but nothing more. Here is the Magna Charta of the spiritual life. The physiological psychology is modern Pharisaism, when made to include the whole of human life. To try to subject human thought to physiological laws is suicidal; it is to deny the possibility of the science of physiology itself, or any other science. Darwin hesitated to accept the conclusions of a mind derived from a monkey because the stream could not rise higher than the fountain, but he mistook altogether stream and fountain. For how did he, Darwin, know the facts of evolution? How trust his mind when it drew that sweeping conclusion that it was derived from a monkey? He supposed that he was talking about the stream of evolution, of animal life, but he was not; he was talking about the stream of science, of *knowledge* of evolution, and the fountain of that stream

was the power of Darwin's mind to weigh evidence; the value of his science can never rise higher than that particular fountain. Take in earnest his denial of the conviction of the human mind and you find that he has denied the trustworthiness of his doctrine of evolution. But if evolution is not true, if man did not evolve from a monkey, then what becomes of his problem? Here is a possibility absolutely unstable; no stream can ever have more value than is credited to the power of the mind to weigh evidence, no objection would ever have more force. The one indisputable fact postulated and reaffirmed by every school of thought, consciously or unconsciously, must be the primacy of human thinking over all material and mechanical law. Then we ask, why attempt to study the mind in terms of physical and mechanical law? The best that could be claimed for the brain would be that it was an indispensable condition; that without it the mind was not able to work, but that with it the mind works as an independent variable. We should then in our physiological psychology be contributing enormously to the knowledge of the most favorable conditions of the mind to accomplish its mission; we should learn how to take care to keep these conditions from being disturbed, and learn many practical truths that will be worth everything to a young man, for it would help him make his physical system "his ally instead of his enemy." But that is all. We shall not have entered the great temple of human life; we shall not have come into the august presence of mental processes themselves.

W. T. Harris says that Saul, the son of Kish, went out to find asses, and he found not them, but a kingdom. He then goes on to say that very many other

people have gone out to find a kingdom but have found only asses; and he concludes that physiological psychology has shared this latter fate. Asses are very useful beasts of burden and not to be despised. In a Santiago campaign they are indispensable, but they are not all, and this judgment is in no way a detraction from physiological psychology, except in so far as it becomes dogmatic and denies the existence of any other. At this stage of our work the students perceive that we have been perfectly fair to all that can be offered for brain functions, and yet have demonstrated the right to study the mind in terms of itself. Either at this stage or at a later time upon the review would come the study of Kant and the history of philosophical speculations as far as Lotze. The question at issue is, What must be our conception which would make it possible for the mind, by weighing evidence, to discover the truth that should hold for experience beyond the present and past? Or, How do we come to get any foundation for our conviction in the uniformity of nature beyond that of habit? This involves a discussion of the question of theism, of the universe as dependent upon Deity, and of the personality of God. We take up such writers as Paulsen and his *Introduction to Philosophy*, Royce's *Religious Aspects of Philosophy*, John Fiske's *Idea of God*, with lectures on Lotze, and various other references. From the point of view of theism we examine the foundations of physical science, of art, of religion, and of ethics. The great problem in the student's mind at this stage is the fact of evil. How can there be such a thing as sin in God's universe? The problem becomes so overwhelming that it cannot be avoided. There is abso-

lutely no way to treat this subject without taking up the whole question of what is meant by government; for sin cannot be merely a physical imperfection, it must be a moral one; therefore, God's relationship to sin cannot be that of a Creator, but that of a governor, and this introduces us to the whole problem of the State. Without this question theism becomes a flat contradiction, and the students will be either pessimists or fatalists.

VI

AUTOMATISM ¹

I. ITS POSTULATES

1. AUTOMATISM postulates that thought is not a cause producing either (*a*) mental effects or (*b*) physical results. To illustrate:

(*a*) The choice of a profession is supposed to fix a man's attention on a particular line of work, to shape his subsequent plans, to fill his mind with anxiety, and create an interest in investigations that will contribute to his success. All this is mythological, worthy of an age when it was supposed that the position of the stars in the skies determined riots and revolutions, political earthquakes, as well as the private career, the failure or fortune of mortals.

In the struggle against temptation it has been supposed that effort at attention could be added to weak ideals until they were strong enough to down evil thoughts, and thus make them more than a match for the strongest propensity. But this is just as absurd as to suppose that in archery when the arrow has left the bow and is being deflected from its course by the wind, the archer can bring it back into line by the writhing and twisting of his own body in the opposite direction, as we often see him attempt to do. When we weigh evidence, as we suppose, the common view is that a candid man's premises actually determine his conclusions, and that in the syllogism "therefore"

¹ A pamphlet for class use.

marks a real causal relationship in the mental world which is as real as cause and effect in the physical nature. This is a very widespread conviction, *e. g.*, it is considered a severe criticism on a speaker to affirm that there is no connection in his discourse, that on analysis it becomes a mere jumble of sentences. Now if you will carefully consider the automaton theory you will see how absurd is this view. Thought is merely an epiphenomenon, related to brain action something as the shadow is to the moving train. One thought follows another, not because of the evidence which demands it, but because two successive brain discharges happen to cast their shadows thus. Take the moving pictures that are thrown on the screen by the vitascope. One man is seen to strike another and to knock him down; his victim's fall seems to be caused by the blow, but if you will go to the instrument you will find that each event is the shadow of a separate picture. By a slight change in mechanism the blow delivered by the ruffian would be followed by the Madonna and her child and would have every appearance of producing that effect. There is absolutely no causal relation between the events that appear on the screen. Appearances are wholly an illusion. The same must be true of the sequence of our thoughts in the mental world; each one of them is simply the molecular action of the brain seen from the inside. Consciousness is a continuous panorama, but each part is distinct from every other, the only causal connection being the material sequence in the brain. Psychology is thus only physics wrong side out.

(b) Neither can thought nor will cause or control brain action. To illustrate: A plan in no way guides a man's conduct. Malice aforethought had nothing

whatever to do with the murder the criminal committed. That was a physical deed, therefore determined only by physical agencies. The purpose to do it had no more influence on the act than the intention of astronomers to observe a total eclipse of the sun last summer actually scattered the clouds and made the day suitable for such observations. The world would raise a loud laugh over a person who actually took seriously the oft-repeated remark about the power of the weather clerk. Will not the time come when the public will laugh as loudly over the twelve jurymen, poor deluded persons, who suppose that malice aforethought, mere ideas and intentions, in any way could have found expression through the deed of the prisoner at the bar? Will not future ages look upon our court-houses and legislative halls, which by that time will be unused and falling to ruins, as we now regard what is left of the old Greek temples — monuments each one of them of a wonderful superstition, slaughter-houses withal, since many a victim owed his death to their existence?

2. The automaton theory is obliged to make thought an original attribute of the atom. We must now add to the spatial, temporal, and dynamic attributes of matter one more property, *viz.*, a hidden psychical endowment. This consciousness must be indescribably simple, but it is really mind, and the raw material out of which all the wealth of human life is composed. If we allowed consciousness to influence physical action in the brain, we should have to grant this power all the way to the simplest inorganic elements. Then chemical composition would be determined in part by the likes and dislikes of ultimate material particles. But this would be repeating on

a grander scale the superstitions of our ancestors who supposed that every natural object had its spirit or genius that acted through it. It is claimed that we have no choice, either be fetich worshipers and done with it, either out-heathen the heathen in our devotion to this creed, or everywhere and always deny that thought has the slightest influence upon the physical world. Just the same results would follow if we allowed brain action to create thought. Consciousness must, therefore, be an original property of the atom. The mental states and the physical changes may be parallel, but, as Clifford says, each series goes along by itself; the one can have no effect on the other.

Having stated the relations between thought and brain action which are required by the automaton theory, let us now state the evidence for and against the theory itself.

II. ARGUMENTS FOR THE THEORY

1. Evolution points out the continuity between animal and human life. It makes it extremely probable that one law governs the whole. Nowhere can you say, here the animal ends and the divine begins. But the simplest forms of animal life are equally difficult to distinguish from the vegetable world. Some species seem to be vegetable during a part of their existence and animal at a later period. The protoplasm of the cell of the animal is essentially like that of the vegetable, and surely the latter must have in it potentially all that is in the animal, because from this as food he derives his support and strength. Where can we stop? Must we not say with Tyndall:

"We break a magnet and find two poles in each of its fragments. We continue the process of breaking; but, however small the parts, each carries with it, though enfeebled, the polarity of the whole. And when we can break no longer, we prolong the intellectual vision to the polar molecules. Are we not urged to do something similar in the case of life? . . . By an intellectual necessity I cross the boundary of the experimental evidence, and discern in that Matter which we, in our ignorance of its latent powers, and notwithstanding our professed reverence for its Creator, have hitherto covered with opprobrium, the promise and potency of all terrestrial life."

2. Inconceivability, even if it is a matter of brain paths, is relied upon by the advocates of the automaton theory to prove their case. They affirm that it is entirely unintelligible to speak of the conversion of physical energy into consciousness. Consciousness is wholly outside the physical universe. Such conversion would mean annihilation of physical energy to every one except the being whose conscious powers were increased thereby. It would mean more than that. It would be quite as ridiculous as converting space into time. Take the following quotation from Tyndall:—

"But the passage from the physics of the brain to the corresponding facts of consciousness is unthinkable. Granted that a definite thought, and a definite molecular action in the brain, occur simultaneously, we do not possess the intellectual organ, nor apparently any rudiment of the organ, which would enable us to pass, by a process of reasoning, from the one to the other. They appear together, but we do not know why. Were our minds and senses so expanded, strengthened, and illuminated, as to enable us to see and feel the very molecules of the brain; were we capable of following all their motions, all their groupings, all their electric discharges, if such there be; and were we intimately acquainted with the corresponding states of thought and feeling, we should be as far as ever from the solution of the

problem, 'How are these physical processes connected with the facts of consciousness?' The chasm between the two classes of phenomena would still remain intellectually impassable. Let the consciousness of *love*, for example, be associated with a right-handed spiral motion of the molecules of the brain, and the consciousness of *hate* with a left-handed spiral motion. We should then know, when we love, that the motion is in one direction, and, when we hate, that the motion is in the other; but the 'Why?' would remain as unanswerable as before."

Clifford, quoted by James, says:

"It will be found excellent practice in the mental operations required by this doctrine to imagine a train, the fore part of which is an engine and three carriages linked with iron couplings, and the hind part three other carriages linked with iron couplings; the bond between the two parts being made up out of the sentiments of amity subsisting between the stoker and the guard."

3. Considerable is made of another argument. If thought is not exactly parallel to brain action, if, when physical conduct is of a given type, thought can be now this and now that under exactly the same physical conditions, how could we ever guess the mind of our nearest friend? We can know only physical action. All the rest is inference, but can we infer that which is wholly a matter of chance? If at one time when our friend laughs he is joyous; if at another time when there is the same merry ring to his laughter he is on the verge of despair; if, again, when we can detect no difference in the physical manifestations he is angry or insane or absolutely indifferent, should we ever know how to take him? Could literature express the mind of the author, or words have any meaning?

4. If thought is exactly parallel to brain action, then we have "X rays" by which to examine the brain more delicately than any yet devised. Thought is

the shadow of brain action. A physician, then, by conversing with his patient can determine very accurately, through inference, the condition of the brain, *e. g.*, when it is overworking and needs rest, when it is dangerously near to brain disease and must stop altogether or it will be too late. He can also determine what kind of associations are most economical for a given make-up; and in what particular profession there may be hope of greatest achievement.

5. Conscience and moral character seem often to be wholly functions of the brain. A drug will completely change for the time being one's whole system of moral values; a good night's rest will transform a coward into a hero. A tumor in a certain part of the brain involves loss of moral honor, and absolute indifference to shame and disgrace; and that, too, in a man who has been the very soul of manliness. Now if a diseased brain is the devil himself, why may not the sound brain be all there is to the saint? This is a point that comes home with tremendous force to the physician when he sees his patient who has been a conspicuous public character, always identified with the right, slowly change into an idiot with hardly a trace of moral sense about him.

6. Professor Tyndall asks: If we consider the body as the instrument of the soul, like the telegraph instrument used by the operator, why should a slight blow on the head make the mind unconscious? When the operator's lines are down, he cannot communicate with the outside world, to be sure; but after the wires are restored, he can tell you all about the way he employed his time during his enforced leisure. He was conscious, his character did not change, he simply could not talk with the outsiders, an inconvenience,

indeed, but not a loss of existence. But the mind becomes absolutely unconscious when the brain is sufficiently injured. In the act of giving a command in full, officers have been hit by a shell which fractured the skull. Hours passed before the surgeon could attend to them. In the mean time they were totally unconscious. When the operation was performed and the pressure of the bone lifted from the brain, consciousness returned like an electric light when you connect the circuit. The interesting fact is that they picked up their threads just where they dropped them; they had not the slightest consciousness of intervening time. The first word they uttered was the one that would have come next in the command they were giving when wounded. If the mind were different from the brain, what was it about all this time and why should it act so like a phonograph which after being stopped for a period begins when started at exactly the same place where it stopped? Does not all this seem to be the work of a machine instead of a person? Does not the analogy of operator and instrument absolutely break down? When death comes, what may we reasonably anticipate? Do you wonder that such a writer as Haeckel feels positively sure that immortality is wholly an illusion and that this life is the beginning and end of it all? Huxley in his letter to Morley says:

“It is a curious thing that I find my dislike to the thought of extinction increasing as I get older and nearer the goal. It flashes across me at all sorts of times with a sort of horror that in 1900 I shall probably know no more of what is going on than I did in 1800. I had sooner be in hell a good deal—at any rate in one of the upper circles, where the climate and company are not too trying.”

7. But the main argument of the automaton theory is conservation of energy. This means that whenever energy disappears in the physical world an exact equivalent reappears in some other form of physical energy, actual or potential. In running a steam engine a certain amount of heat is used up, but it has not been annihilated; it is simply transformed into motion or electricity, and the equivalence is so exact that we can determine it with mathematical precision. It is like the bank that will convert the nickels and dimes of the trolley company into bills of larger and smaller denominations without charging any commission.

Now if the will moves the arm, it causes the physical part of our being to do something that it would not have done if we had not willed. Therefore a certain amount of energy must be created by the will, since the brain is a physical agent and its action can be changed only by physical energy. To affirm, as some have done, that the will can control the arm without creating physical energy is to affirm that the brain under exactly the same physical conditions does not always act in exactly the same way, which would mean that an event had taken place without a cause. Whenever in the physical world a change in action takes place, that must be a change in the resultant of physical forces at that point, either by the addition or subtraction of physical energy. If the will, therefore, causes my arm to move, it must either create or annihilate a certain amount of physical energy, or you introduce the doctrine that some events happen by chance.

But those who hold the automaton theory sometimes lapse into phraseology that implies that a sensation or state of consciousness can be created by brain

action. Huxley says, "If a man does not believe this doctrine, let him stick a pin into himself and see whether it is true or not." Clearly the automaton theory will allow no such explanation of our experience. If sensation is caused by brain action, a certain amount of physical energy must disappear from the physical world and reappear in the mental. Huxley uses the illustration of the steam whistle to explain the relation of thought to brain action. "The sound is produced by the locomotive, but does not in turn control the movements of the engine." We reply, that whatever steam is employed for blowing the whistle is taken away from the pistons, and thus diminishes the speed of the train on an up grade. In the early days of steam power there was on the Mississippi river a boat with a very small boiler and a very large whistle. Whenever they blew the whistle the engine stopped. Evidently Huxley's position is wholly illogical. Either the theory of the conservation of energy holds—in which case a state of consciousness is neither produced by brain action nor can it cause brain action—or we are obliged to take the opposite view clear through. To concede that sensations are produced by sticking a pin into yourself is to affirm that conservation of energy is broken, and that, therefore, thought determines some brain action.

III. ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE AUTOMATON THEORY

1. Consciousness is, according to Clifford, wholly subjective, known only to itself directly. It is exclusive, a little universe by itself, and can never be an object to any other. Others may infer its existence, but they have absolutely no means of perceiving any

other consciousness than their own. The physical world is objective, inclusive, common to all, and the same to all. This is a matter of infinite importance in discussing the automaton theory. And the importance is not emphasized merely by the antagonists of this position. It is the corner-stone of all those who hold that doctrine. It is their main reason for holding that physical energy cannot be converted into thought. Such a statement, they say, would be equivalent to believing in the annihilation of physical energy to every one except the man whose consciousness was enriched thereby.

2. The automaton theory necessitates the mind-stuff theory—the two must stand or fall together. The mind-stuff theory affirms that consciousness is made up of units infinitely simple. Thus fourteen vibrations a second may perhaps be distinguished as fourteen separate vibrations, but if we increase the number they fuse, and we perceive only a tone. With some ears forty thousand vibrations a second fuse to form a musical note that seems perfectly simple. Must we not conclude that all consciousness is very complex. Can we believe that any conscious state known to man is simple? If thought is simply the shadow of brain action, and if the brain is composed of atoms each of which has its own psychical attribute, must not every thought that we have be composed of as many psychical units as there are atoms directly concerned in that particular part of brain action of which this thought is the shadow? Is not this view necessitated by the doctrine that the ultimate unit of all material bodies is the atom?

No other conclusion could for a moment be considered, for atoms never fuse, not even in the brain.

Each retains its own identity and individuality in all chemical compositions. Brain is a name for a certain number of these atoms arranged in certain ways, just as "Senior class" is a name for a certain number of students related to each other and acting in harmony with each other. Take away all the atoms from the brain and there is no brain left. There must, therefore, be just as many units in consciousness as there are atoms concerned in the particular brain activity with which this consciousness has to do.

James shows that there can be no such thing as fusion, and therefore the mind-stuff theory is out and out a contradiction. From which it follows the automaton theory is inconceivable.

Proof. The atom cannot give up its own conscious attribute to form a common stock of consciousness or resultant for two reasons. (a) If it did, the atom would then change and be without the attribute it once possessed. Nature would not then be uniform. Uniformity requires a changeless atom. (b) Consciousness is by its very nature exclusive, exists directly only to itself. Others may infer it; they can never have it. Others may have a like consciousness, but it will never be that identical consciousness. The consciousness of one atom can then never fuse with the consciousness of any other atom, but will ever be a distinct and separate existence. Fusion is in every instance not a reality but an effect on some third party. Oxygen and hydrogen do not really fuse to form water; they are simply so arranged as to seem to the eye to fuse. The vibrations of music in a tone do not really fuse and lose their identity; if so, the tone would not be made up of separate vibrations; they simply seem to the ear to fuse. The question has been

asked, May not attributes fuse even if atoms remain distinct? The case cited is that of several men separated by some distance yet standing so that their shadows fuse. We reply, Are shadows attributes? If so, a man may lose an attribute through no change whatever on his part, but simply through extinction of a light, be it ever so distant. The truth is, the illustration is misleading. Opacity is the attribute and shadow is its effect on something else. The opacities of different persons never fuse, but they may coöperate to produce a single effect. This is James's doctrine, that nowhere "can entities (call them as you like, material particles, forces, or mental elements) sum themselves together." Each retains its identity. "The sun exists only for the bystander" or "in the shape of some other effect on an entity external" to the one in question.

It follows, therefore, if the states of consciousness of the several atoms are to constitute a complex consciousness, they must still retain their individuality and identity, but seem to fuse to some third party, to some agent like the soul, who might be there as a spectator — just as the soldiers in a regiment seem to fuse together into a mass or wave to some looker-on who sees the battle from a distance. But according to the automaton theory there is no soul. To get an exact illustration, we should have the vibrations which make up a musical note remain absolutely distinct and yet each vibration be a spectator or hearer to perceive all the other vibrations and make them seem to fuse. Could you ever get a tune in this way? How is some one vibration, which exists at this second, to perceive vibrations that passed out of existence some time before, and other

vibrations that are to come into existence some time hence? But the illustration of a tune is a very poor one. That belongs to the physical world, where objects are objective and the same to all. We should have to ask: How can the consciousness of a particular atom be wholly subjective and exclusive, known only to itself, and at the same time not be subjective and exclusive, but be known to the consciousness of every other atom and in its own turn perceive their psychical states and make them seem to fuse together? Dr. Ward says, "Paradox is too mild a word for it. Even contradiction will hardly suffice." You remember the illustration given by the author of the paper presented to the class on this subject. Suppose three men to have absolutely no communication, that is, to be deaf, dumb, and blind. Let one man eat sugar; he has the consciousness of sweetness. Let another man drink water; his thirst is slaked. Let the third man suck a lemon; his sensation is that of a peculiarly acid taste. Please tell us how under these circumstances there is to arise in this little company of strangers the taste of lemonade.

The automaton theory logically leads us to the conclusion that the most complex brain cannot be possessed of a consciousness one whit richer than that of the individual atoms which compose it. If America is composed of seventy million people, each of whom is possessed of a small sum of money in his pocket, and if each is so constituted that it is absolutely impossible for him ever to part with this money, *i. e.*, if not a single one of the seventy million can ever pay a cent of taxes, please tell us how much the treasurer of the United States has in his possession. Could he have

a penny more than was his by original endowment? Now a theory which makes the consciousness of the complex brain as primitive as that of the original atom contradicts the one fact that we know more about than any other. No one can deny that he is immediately conscious of his own states of consciousness. He knows what they are, he knows their wealth as he knows nothing else in the universe. Whatever else he gives up, he cannot give up this knowledge. All other knowledge is gained by inference from this.

3. Is memory possible on this basis? Can any physical object remember? The clock strikes twelve this noon; it did so yesterday, it did so last year. Could this noon stroke be called a recollection of former ones, or is it an entirely new event? A music box repeats to-night the tune it played at Christmas when it was first received. Is this a recollection of Christmas or simply a new performance? A phonograph is very patient and will say the same thing over and over, but does it remember that it has said it before? Here is the peculiarity of memory. It is a present picture. We always remember in the present. We say we recall the past. This is only rhetoric. We do not actually turn back the wheels of time and live over again the original event, otherwise old people who forget all but the scenes of their childhood could actually recall their youth. No. The past has gone forever, and when we remember we simply make a present picture in consciousness. It may or may not be like some former state of consciousness. But however close the resemblance, it can never be identically the same. It is a new state like the new stroke of the clock, or the new repetition of the tune. But

memory is more than this. It is a present state that claims to know that it is a copy of some previous experience. How can it without comparing itself with that experience? But that can never be done, since the experience is forever passed. If there were any causal relationship between the different states of consciousness, a possibility for verifying the present would be revealed. But there is no causal relationship whatever. If one is as distinct from another as are the several notes in the tune, how can the present mental picture vouch for the past? Is it not simply a new experience without reference to anything gone before? God may know the resemblance, but can the state itself know it? If you affirm that this is possible, then why limit memory to the events in a single person's life? Why not be able to make present pictures that can vouch for the accuracy of their resemblance to states of consciousness experienced by Cæsar or Cicero, Paul or Nero; or for that matter why limit the possibility to this planet; why not be omniscient and done with it? If a present mental picture can know its resemblance to something in no way related to it by cause and effect, what difference does it make how remote that "something" may be?

4. Could there be any personal identity upon this basis? By this phrase we mean not the actual identity of an individual, but his knowledge that he is the same now as at former times. In dreams and in insanity there is loss of identity. If our life is made up of a series of states of consciousness not causally connected but really as disconnected as the different views in a biography, of a series which could seem to be fused only to a third party like God, could any one of these states have any knowledge of the whole

series? Could any one note in a tune know the whole tune? Hear what John Stuart Mill says on the subject. He surely is not prejudiced in favor of the side we are now attempting to state. Take for recitation at this point pages 18 and 19 of the pamphlet, "Selections from Mill."

5. Could there be on the automaton theory any weighing of evidence? If the reason why one thought follows another is the same as that which explains why one note in the music box follows another, namely, on account of certain mechanical constructions of the instrument, then the question whether the right thought or the wrong thought follows from the premises is not a matter of evidence, but solely an accident due to the lines of least resistance in the brain. These lines have been made by extremely complex agencies and not by any intelligent maker. We have inherited the superstitious tendencies of our fathers. We have given way to the passions and follies of childhood when the brain was extremely plastic, and permanent habits have been thus formed. We have been subject to the influences of an environment in no way concerned with the higher moral life. Our lines of least resistance are thus peculiar to each one. No two persons can be just alike. How, then, could the jury of twelve men, perhaps of different nationalities, be expected by thinking to get the same verdict? If men ever do have the same habits of thought, is it because they are wholly passive while the environment plows out the paths in each as a glacier cuts parallel grooves in the rocks? Or is it because by weighing evidence each gets the truth and then forces himself to follow it by acting along the lines of greatest resistance.

If you say that a machine may be the ideal of accu-

racy, I reply, (a) the more complex and delicate the machine, the more likely is it to get out of order and become inaccurate. The Hipp chronoscope is made with great care and is intended to measure time down to one thousandth part of a second. It is affected by slight changes in temperature and wear. When we use it in the laboratory for accurate work it has to be tested every hour and corrections made for its errors. It is said that at Baden-Baden a shrewd mechanic watched the roulette table for weeks, since he knew that no machine would run accurately for any length of time. It would begin to wear in one place more than another. Once begun, the error would increase until it would become visible. So he watched until he succeeded in discovering the defect which gave a special advantage to a certain color. He then began to bet on that color and broke the bank.

(b) My second answer is, Could any machine recognize its own error and make allowances therefor? Man can do it for the machine, but can the machine do it for itself? The answer is, No; the machine does not care. It would as soon go wrong as right. It follows only one law, namely, the line of least resistance. You may have the compensating pendulum, but accuracy is not the motive of the pendulum. Its action depends wholly upon the way it is set by the clock-maker. It would expand and contract just as easily when such a change would make an error as when it corrects one. It is said that in the Bank of England there is an arrangement for detecting counterfeit coins and those short in weight. Each coin must drop through a particular slot; if it is too large it will not go through. Those that go through fall into the pan of delicate scales. If they are under weight that

arm goes up, and they slide out into the jaws of a machine which stamps them as mutilated. They then go to the mint and there are tested to see whether they are genuine or counterfeit, and are worth only their bullion value. If they are the right weight, the arm of the scale tips down, and the coin slides out into deposit boxes. Meantime you can have an automatic arrangement for counting them. This is marvelous, indeed, yet this machine is not intelligence. If dust should accumulate in the opposite arm of the balance the accuracy would be impaired and genuine coins might begin to go up and fall into the mutilated pile. The scales would never care, and if they should become worn the error might be very considerable, but they would never find it out. The scales would never remove their own dust or repair their wear. We have remarkable pieces of mechanism able to do extremely accurate work when made by intelligence and kept in order by skill. But the more delicate these instruments the more they need supervision. If the brain is to respond to the slightest change of stimulus it must be so unstable that it would be very easy for it to get out of order. The agency which has made the lines of least resistance according to evolution is not intelligence, but the superstitions of savage ancestors, and the passions and appetites of a long line of animal progenitors. Can such an instrument know when its results are right? Is none of its work wrong? Who or what then is to distinguish and say this product is scientific, that is erroneous.

To weigh evidence is to have one's conclusions influenced only by the truth. Take a syllogism: All men are mortal; Socrates was a man; therefore let us have a banquet. If a child was purely mechanical,

just following lines of least resistance, this or any other absurdity would go well enough. But the moment he becomes a man and is critical, he insists that the conclusion shall square with the premises, not merely in this case, but wherever truth is sought, even though it mean an unusual and disagreeable effort on his part. There is no scholarship that does not involve at times action along the lines of greatest resistance. Truth is the same the universe through, therefore the same to all men. Lines of least resistance vary with the individual and his inheritance. If all can possibly get truth, then all can by effort agree. But not without effort, for truth with many must be along the lines of greatest resistance. Such thought as has scientific value cannot be wholly a function of the brain; rather must some brain action be a function of this thought. Wherever this power was introduced in the history of evolution a new agency appeared on earth. Wundt calls it psychical causality. It would be as ridiculous to determine the laws of psychical causality by a study of the brain as it would be to get laws for electricity by studying only gravitation or geometry. Each agency must be studied in terms of itself, for some things are peculiar to it, and these peculiar attributes are vital.

This, then, is our claim: Human society must be organized in accordance with human nature or there will be trouble. If the main agency in man is psychical causality, to disregard it entirely or attempt to construct social life on an animal basis would be the supreme mistake of the age. It would be like trying to make birds live under water because their remote ancestors were fishes and could live in no other way. There is something wrong somewhere in our

social institutions or there would not be so much friction or failure. Haeckel says, "To our great regret we must indorse the words of Alfred Wallace: 'Compared with our astounding progress in physical science and its practical application, our system of government, of administrative justice, and of national education, and our entire social and moral organization, remain in the state of barbarism.'"

6. If you accept the doctrine of evolution, would it be possible to account for the development of consciousness on the automaton theory? James brings out the idea that there is nothing sentimental about evolution. It tends to drop everything that is not an advantage in the struggle for existence. If consciousness never does anything in the line of controlling the organism, why has evolution preserved and developed it? Again, how does it happen that unpleasant things are disagreeable and beneficial things pleasant, unless pleasure and pain are sentinels to warn the organism of approaching danger and point out the way of escape. There is nothing intrinsically objectionable to the conception that pleasure and pain should have no relationship whatever to the physical welfare of our being. As the electric light seems quite agreeable to the moth, and intoxication to the drunkard, so pestilential odors of the sewer and filthy surroundings might cause ecstasy of delight to human beings, as these seem to do to vermin, were it not for the fact that evolution quickly weeds out all those who like harmful things. But surely nature would never take that trouble if pleasure and pain did not exercise a real influence on conduct, *i. e.*, violate the law of conservation of energy.

James carries the point farther. The brains of the lower animals are fairly stable in their chemical composition. But such an organ would be of little service to man. He needs to note very exact discriminations. The very delicate appreciation involved in wit and humor, in scientific observation and the higher forms of thought, especially in artistic creations, requires that the genius should have a brain of extremely unstable equilibrium. Would such a brain be safe if it were not controlled by a power not of itself? Does it not need a governor to restrain it and is not intelligence and moral purpose admirably suited for just that task? This is the question at issue. Could nature herself have developed the wild crab-apple into the golden pippin, or brought out the modern race-horse with only grass to feed him on? Must not natural selection be supplemented by intelligent selection to secure the most wonderful products? Must not intelligence to some extent make "brain the function of thought," form the right kind of habits by acting along the lines of greatest resistance, and thus create its own instruments as a mechanic makes his tools? Otherwise could humanity have ever come upon the stage of action? Otherwise would not the beginnings of the human brain have produced a character so unstable as to have led to its own destruction, just as a high-strung horse when he gets away from his master takes fright and often kills himself? The very qualities which make the horse excellent make him also a slave for his own sake as well as for his owner's use. He must have a master or he can't live the complex life and do the right thing which he actually accomplishes. Is it not so with the brain, especially that of the human

species? What has been the fate of genius where there has been a lack of moral control?

Again, when certain parts of the brain have been injured permanently by accident, temporary derangement is experienced, but in time the work is taken up by other regions, and when these are thoroughly trained much of the mental embarrassment is removed. James asks if this is the working of mere mechanism. "A machine in working order acts fatally in one way. Take out a valve, throw a wheel out of gear, or bend a pivot, and it becomes a different machine, acting just as fatally in another way which we call wrong. But the machine knows nothing of wrong or right; matter has no ideals to pursue. A locomotive will carry its train through an open drawbridge as cheerfully as to any other destruction." "So a brain with a part scooped out is virtually a new machine," and its acts at first are abnormal. Why does it often right itself? Does it not look as though it were not left entirely to itself?

7. There are only two ways of attempting to get science: (*a*) that of the schoolmen who shut themselves up in cloisters and spun their theories about the universe from their own inner consciousness just as a spider spins his web from his own bowels; (*b*) the scientific method of induction which demands observation and experiment. But what are these? We observe through the senses, that is, we get mental pictures which are wholly subjective, and from these reason to that which caused or produced them. We do this so often and so frequently that the process becomes wholly unconscious, and we seem to be passive witnesses of what is going on in nature. This is not true, for we learned in James that perception is

never a mere sensation, but sensation interpreted by our whole apperception mass. Just here comes in the difficulty. Cause and effect is the principal constituent of that apperception mass. If these sensations were not caused by any object in the physical world, not even by brain action (and this is the view of the automaton theory), then how can we perceive correctly? How can the subjective mental picture ever help us to any knowledge or observation of the external world? All physical facts go along by themselves and all mental facts go along by themselves, and how can a state of consciousness say whether the two series are parallel or just the reverse.

One step farther. Berkeley affirms that there is not the slightest evidence for the existence of any material world. How do we know but that the whole series of physical facts which Clifford speaks of is simply the figment of the imagination, and that Berkeley is right when he affirms that what we call physics is simply a department of psychology? This is his argument: (a) What are the mountains, hills, seas, plains, that you are talking about in physics? You reply, things we see. (b) What do you see, of what are you immediately conscious? The reply is, mental pictures and nothing else. We are immediately conscious of states of consciousness, phenomena not noumena; everything else is inference. (c) It is absurd to suppose that there could be a state of consciousness outside consciousness or that the dead material world outside the mind could in any way resemble what is inside the living mind. Hence, he concludes, the physical world we observe is as subjective in our waking moments as in the dream landscape when we sleep. If you want to accept this

view you must mean by mountains, hills, seas, and plains not the things you see but the external agents which cause your sensation. This is the common meaning of the scientist. He does not say the grass is green, but the grass looks green, that is, produces that effect in me; not that iron is heavy, but that it feels heavy, *i. e.*, causes that perception in me. Matter is that which produces these phenomena. Very well, says Berkeley, you shall have it so. By your hypothesis (the automaton theory) the physical world and the brain could not possibly produce a sensation, therefore they are not the cause of your perceptions. What, then, is their cause? What is that matter that you infer? With what world are you dealing when you observe? It must belong to the mental series, it must be a function of mind if it is to cause sensation. Does not Berkeley seem to have the best of this argument if you accept Clifford's postulate?

It seems to me that there is no way in which a finite being can reason to that which lies beyond his own mental states except through the causal relation; that is the only bridge over which thought can travel. If there is no causal relation it would be the miracle of miracles for a man by knowledge of the sensation to know something entirely disconnected from it, which occurred not in the mental series, but in the material world — say, for instance, the fact that Darwinian evolution has really taken place and is the explanation of the present form of society. If a man could know one thing thus absolutely disconnected from his data in consciousness, please tell me which one thing it would be in the universe, and why this one thing and not some other. Why could he not just as well be omniscient and know all things as to know this one? No;

we should have to give them all up and content ourselves with Berkeley, and make physical science a part of mental science, just as we do logic and grammar.

Again, science involves experiment, and experiment means determining or controlling the conditions under which physical events take place. It is not true that in every instance this postulates that thought or will can determine brain action and thus guide the hands of the experimenter, yet if you will go back to childhood and learn how the infant's perceptions were made objective you will realize that causal efficiency of the mind, whereby he actually controlled his hands and feet, his playthings and other objects in nature, was the only condition under which he came to distinguish those mental pictures that had an objective cause from those originated by himself. No child says, I dreamed. At first every vivid picture is real. Gradually he learns that he has a self, and for some things he alone is responsible. Then comes a period in the child's life when he will be responsible for everything, and generally he does not completely get over this period until he receives a few lessons at the hands of sophomores in his freshman year. Scientific personality is the correlate of accurate scientific experiment. Only as consciousness is a cause and actually changes conditions in nature does it correctly distinguish between subjective and objective, and perceive things as they are. We are just beginning to emphasize this truth in child study. The practical side of this postulate gives proper attention to muscular activity. Formerly this was supposed to be mere physical skill, but it is now realized to be the prime condition of general education and development. If deprived of all muscular control a child would grow up an idiot.

To sum up:— Science is wholly the work of mind. Atoms never write chemistries, the stars know nothing of astronomy, physical forces are entirely ignorant of the laws in accordance with which they act, science does not get itself, nature never studies herself. All science is the work of mind. If the automaton theory is true, mind can never observe nature or experiment upon it. Mind is shut up like the schoolman in its own little cloister so narrow that the scholastic monastery was an infinite expanse in comparison. In this little cloister, if it is not omniscient it can only study a physical world that is as subjective in its waking moments as is the dream world when it is asleep, and Berkeley's idealism must be accepted as the ultimate philosophy. That Tyndall actually feels the difficulty may be inferred from the following quotation:

“Do states of consciousness enter as links into the chain of antecedence and sequence, which give rise to bodily actions, and to other states of consciousness; or are they merely by-products, which are not essential to the physical processes going on in the brain? Speaking for myself, it is certain that I have no power of imagining states of consciousness, interposed between the molecules of the brain, and influencing the transference of motion among the molecules. The thought ‘eludes all mental presentation’; and hence the logic seems of iron strength which claims for the brain an automatic action, uninfluenced by states of consciousness. But it is, I believe, admitted by those who hold the automaton theory, that states of consciousness are produced by the marshaling of the molecules of the brain; and this production of consciousness by molecular motion is to me quite as unthinkable as the production of molecular motion by consciousness. If, therefore, unthinkability be the proper test, I must equally reject both classes of phenomena. I, however, reject neither, and thus stand in the presence of two incompre-

hensibles, instead of one incomprehensible. While accepting fearlessly the facts of materialism dwelt upon in these pages, I bow my head in the dust before that mystery of mind which has hitherto defied its own penetrative power, and which may ultimately resolve itself into a demonstrable impossibility of self-penetration."

VII

HUME ON THE LIMITS OF KNOWLEDGE¹

PROBLEM. To determine the limitations of knowledge, *i. e.*, not those we have already reached, for this would be a mere matter of inventory, but the limits beyond which no amount of effort will enable us to pass.

Note. In law all questions so serious as to have to do with the life or liberty of a citizen must first be passed upon by a grand jury, who determine whether the evidence is sufficient to warrant a trial. This is one of the safeguards of our republic; it prevents, on the one hand, waste of time and money on the part of the court, and, on the other, the hardship of individuals being forced to carry on an unnecessary suit. It is evident that philosophy renders a similar service. It prevents the individual from wasting time and strength on problems that are insoluble; at the same time it secures the public from being perpetually harassed by calls to investigate “—isms” for which there cannot be sufficient evidence. If we are not “blown about by every wind of doctrine,” it is because of the protection furnished by this grand jury of the intellect.

POSTULATE. All our *knowledge* is from experience, [more than this, the mind is incapable even of con-

¹ An early pamphlet which illustrates the kind of “outline” that was given to the class after they had tried their own hands at the task. See above, p. 64. This is based on the *Enquiry* which was studied by the class.

ceiving of any *fiction* that is not also derived from experience. Hence the formula should be: "All our ideas, true or false, are derived from impressions."]

Prop. 1. Knowledge is either (a) our individual experience itself, or (b) that which is derived from this experience.

Prop. 2. The limitations of personal experience are clear enough. New instruments may be invented whereby sight and hearing shall be rendered more acute and comprehensive than at present, but no devices will ever enable the senses to get beyond the bounds of the material world.

Prop. 3. The limits of knowledge derived from experience are not so apparent. A majority of writers prior to Hume held that from the things that are seen we can *infer* the great truths of the "unseen," the spiritual world. Let us deal with this question with greatest caution. We will make an exhaustive classification of this knowledge and ascertain the limits of each kind.

Prop. 4. Knowledge derived from our experience can all be included in two divisions, (a) that given in memory, (b) that outside our individual senses and memory.

Prop. 5. The limitations of memory clearly are those of our senses. It is a mere record of what we have experienced.

Prop. 6. The great question is concerning knowledge outside our senses and memory. We can determine its limits only by asking *how* it is obtained.

Note. At first sight it seems as if a bird were hindered by the air, and that, could it get above the atmosphere, it might fly any distance without fatigue. But the moment we ascertain *how* it is able to leave

the solid ground and fly at all, we know the limits beyond which wings can never carry it.

Prop. 7. There seem at first sight to be two methods of obtaining knowledge not given in sense and memory, *viz.*, (a) by *a priori* reasoning, that is, by demonstration; (b) by empirical reasoning, or reasoning on matters of fact. This is often known as *moral*, not in the ethical sense but as giving "*moral*" as opposed to "*mathematical*" certainty.

Note. The first (a) is a very inviting process, for it seems to have no limits. So pleased with it were the schoolmen of the Middle Ages (and also the majority of modern theologians) that they discarded the other altogether. Shutting themselves in their cloisters, they spun systems of theology and even of physics merely from their own brains as a spider spins a web from his own bowels. But Hume finds that this *a priori* demonstration has to do only with the "relationship of ideas," and it is *analytic*. It gives no new facts. Therefore the schoolmen made no real discoveries in this way. As some one has said, they thought they were marching, while in reality they were only marking time. To recur to our former illustration: To attempt to attain new knowledge through "relationship of ideas" would be like a bird's attempting to fly beyond the atmosphere. We therefore turn to the second method. (b) We surely do attain some knowledge beyond our own senses and memory. Now how do we do it? The "how" will determine the "what," and once knowing the "limits" we shall turn aside from all subjects, no matter how important and inviting, that lie beyond.

Ans. We can attain knowledge of *matters of fact* beyond sense and memory only by *cause and effect*.

That is, we must start with some fact in sense or memory and by the causal relation determine the fact outside.

Illustration. The operator in a switch tower knows that the switch miles away has been moved, but how? We answer, only as some change takes place within the tower, between which and the change without he knows there is a causal relation, *viz.*, an electric current; sever this connection and his knowledge cannot go beyond the tower.

Note. This raises the question, "How do we know cause and effect?"

There are limits to this relation, otherwise it carries us too far. Beginning with an object in our hand, we should infer its cause or maker; then the same reasoning would inform us of this maker's cause, and so on till we came to the Creator, who also would need a cause to account for his existence. Cause and effect proves too much unless we can ascertain its true limits. How, then, do we know cause and effect?

Ans. We gain cause and effect, (a) never *a priori*, (b) but always by experience.

Note. Every one admits that in chemistry this is true. Every laboratory is a monument to this conviction. But the theological writers think that in the sphere of natural theology, where we can have no experience to guide us, it is legitimate to reason from effect to cause *a priori*. So they establish the argument from design to prove the existence of an intelligent First Cause. Go into the woods and find a watch, say they, and you are justified in affirming a maker whom you have never seen. And if the watch is accurately made and keeps perfect time, you are

also justified in asserting the intelligence and skill of its author. How much more, then, may we be certain of the wisdom and power of the Creator!

But if cause and effect is a valid basis for reasoning *only when derived from experience*, the argument from design falls to pieces. It is fair to reason from the watch to its maker because *experience* has taught us how machinery is made; but what experience has ever revealed to us the creation of matter? Who, then, can tell how it was produced and what cause was needed therefor? Must we not here “bow our heads in the dust” and “refuse to speculate concerning this great mystery?” Surely this is the only honest course if cause and effect cannot be used *a priori*. So important is this question that Hume stops to give proof of this position.

Proof 1. Cause and effect can never be gained *a priori*, since the *cause is entirely different from the effect*; therefore examine either one as carefully as you please and you will never discover in it the other, *simply because it is not there*. Medicine is the cause, the health of the patient is the effect. Can one who knows nothing experimentally of drugs or disease tell in advance by looking at the medicine what its effect will be? Why not? Can a person then discover God by studying matter? Are not the two entirely distinct?

Proof 2. Supposing by accident we perceive the true effect of a given cause, can we be sure that it is the effect rather than an event occurring by mere coincidence? We by all our examination can never discover the force or power that binds the effect to its cause, and makes just this and no other of the millions conceivable necessary. Can we then be sure that at

any future time this cause will be followed by a like event?

Note. If cause and effect comes only through experience, it becomes important to ask "How"? Our individual experience is historic; how is it ever able to teach us anything more than past history?

Ans. Individual experience can become scientific experience, which alone is the basis for reasoning from cause and effect, only on the ground that we know "nature to be uniform under the same conditions"; if this be true, then from a single instance where the conditions are accurately determined we can learn all events, past, present, and future, happening under similar circumstances.

Note. This brings us to our ultimate inquiry. All questions as to "how" we gain knowledge outside senses and memory become translated into the question, "How do we know nature to be uniform?" All the knowledge of matters of fact — (other than our own history) — can never have more validity than this one cognition. Hume answers the question first negatively, then positively.

A. NEGATIVELY

Knowledge of the uniformity of nature does not come through any form of reasoning.

Proof. He divides all kinds of reasoning into two classes, (a) demonstrative, (b) moral (empirical), and shows that it cannot come from either.

(a) It cannot come from demonstration, since this can be used only when the opposite of a proposition involves a contradiction. But no contradiction is involved in the opposite of the doctrine that nature is

uniform. Indeed, the fact of miracles proves that sometimes it has been true.¹

(b) It cannot come from moral reasoning, since we can never reason in that way at all till we know the uniformity of nature. That is, science can never by experiment prove uniformity, for there can be no scientific experiment, nothing but history, till we know that nature is uniform.

Take Tyndall's prayer gauge. He would scientifically prove that God answers (*i. e.*, does now and will in the future) prayer. Now answer to prayer is a miracle. Suppose his experiment successful twenty times, that twenty miracles are performed, does that give us science or history? And have we not history already, *e. g.*, the Old and New Testaments? why then do we want more? "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be (scientifically) persuaded though one rose from the dead."

(c) We may add that knowledge of uniformity does not come from reasoning, for, if so, children and animals could not attain it; yet surely they act on that basis.

B. POSITIVELY

If uniformity of nature is not given in our own historic senses and memory, nor on the other hand does it come from any form of reasoning, then surely we do not "*know*" it at all: we simply have a "*conviction*" thereof, and we only need to explain how we come by this. In the sections we have taken in Hume he makes three points: 1. This conviction can come from custom. 2. It cannot be derived from any other

¹ This sentence should perhaps run: Indeed, the fact that the doctrine of miracles has been maintained proves that the supporters of this doctrine could find no contradiction in denying the uniformity of nature.— *Editor*.

source. 3. Knowing "*how*" we derive the conviction, we can easily determine its value, *i. e.*, can give a true definition of the causal relation.

1. *The conviction of the causal relation can come from custom.*

(1) Save in questions concerning relationship of ideas, the difference between fact and fiction is not in the intellect, but in the susceptibility.

(2) It is a general law of mind that feelings can be transferred from objects that excite them to those with which they have no legitimate connection, provided there be no resistance.

Illustrations. (a) *Anger* is often manifested towards those who have done nothing to offend us. In Eastern countries it is not safe for even the most faithful friends of a tyrant to inform him of bad news. His wrath at the misfortune easily transfers itself to those who announce it, and often they are put to death. An animal wounded by a hunter vents his rage on the bushes or whatever may come in his way.

(b) *Fear*. An engineer who has once been through an accident is likely to lose nerve. His hand is always on the air-brake, and at the slightest suspicion he slows up. Some of the most daring men have in this way lost the power of running their trains on time and have been discharged from the service.

If an inhabitant of Siam who had never heard of ice should visit our northern country late in the fall, and see a pond, one day nothing but water, the next completely frozen over, could he bring himself to walk thereon? He might see others heavier than himself supported with safety. His reason might show him the folly of hesitation, but could it bring the conviction

of safety? Would not the fear of water be transferred to ice? Read Matt. xiv, 22-33.

(c) *Surprise*. If a friend who has always been in perfect health, one with whom we have been very intimate, whom we left only a few hours ago, suddenly dies, can we realize it? Does not the feeling of reality of life transfer itself from the past to the present moment?

(d) *Apparent Inconsistency*. Are those who earnestly profess a new departure in their religion, or business, or politics, and yet continually belie their profession by their deeds — are they hypocrites?

Dr. Storrs recently related an experience that occurred in the days of slavery, to this effect: There were many people then who asserted that it was a religious, a Christian duty, to return a fugitive slave to his master. In support of this position they cited the example of Paul, who sent Onesimus back to his owner, and they claimed that as the "powers that be are ordained of God," persons were resisting a divine sovereign when they refused to carry out the laws of the United States requiring this action. Among these people was one, I think a clergyman, who had often been somewhat severe in his criticism on Dr. Storrs for holding the opposite view. But one evening, in a severe storm, Dr. Storrs's doorbell rang, and on going to the door, whom should he find there but this same gentleman with a fugitive slave under his protection. By mistake the runaway had applied to him for help, and he, instead of consistently carrying out his doctrine, took the stranger over to Dr. Storrs to find out the best method of sending him on the so-called underground railway to Canada. Dr. Storrs gave direction, and then begged to relieve his friend of the burden, lest the deed

might be one that he could not conscientiously perform, but not even the eloquence of the Brooklyn preacher could persuade the pro-slavery champion to give up his charge. Was this act inconsistency in the sense of hypocrisy, or had the feeling of compassion and regard for the rights of man acquired such a momentum by life in the North among a free people that it transferred itself, in spite of creed and party, from white men to the unfortunate black?

Do we not need a similar explanation to account for the conduct of honest, candid, conscientious men who, when a disreputable candidate is nominated by their party, threaten to bolt, but as election draws near find their affection for the party transfer itself to the man who stands upon its platform, and so swing into line and vote the straight ticket?

When a skeptic, who in early life revered his mother's faith, comes to a great crisis and in his danger prays, or when a heathen converted to Christianity reverts temporarily to the superstition of his fathers in time of sore temptation, is it really a change of character, or the momentum of his former convictions?

(3) Applying this general law to the particular feeling of conviction, we affirm that belief can be transferred from the ideas to which it belongs to those that are entirely fictitious, if only the resistance thereto can be removed. Hence belief is no indication of the truth of an idea. Only in this way can we account for the numerous false creeds of superstition.

(4) *Explanation.* (a) Feelings cannot act without acquiring momentum. (b) This momentum takes them along the line of least resistance. (c) Custom will form a line of least resistance, and even remove all resistance.

Note. Bend a paper once and it bends easier there a second time. You may bend it so often that it requires no effort at all to fold it. Our proposition is this: If we have been accustomed to experience a certain sequence of events, then, according to the laws of association, when one is perceived by the senses, the momentum of thought compels us to think of its consequent. Now the mind is so constituted that sense-perception arouses conviction. This is the way the feeling is originated. But its momentum takes it along the line of custom, *i. e.*, least resistance, and fastens it in full force to the idea of the consequent. This may be so intense as to produce subjective sensation to the extent of our seeing the event before it actually happens. The author proves his position by arguments from analogy. The laws of association, *viz.*, *Resemblance*, *Contiguity*, *Cause and Effect*, are lines of least resistance. It can be shown that under each of them the feeling of reality transfers itself from an object present to the senses to the idea of the unseen object "associated" with it.

2. *The conviction of the uniformity of nature can arise in no other way, for:—*

(1) All our ideas come from impressions.

(2) From no single event can the impression of power be experienced, since the senses never perceive force. Therefore, if it were necessary to derive it directly from sense, it could not be originated at all.

(3) But custom does produce an inseparable association of antecedent and consequent in our minds. We come to be unable to think of one without the other. Thus arises the feeling or conviction of their sequence.

(4) It is a law of the mind that limitations of

thought are projected out by "extradition of consciousness" into things, and then the mind forgets that these are wholly subjective, just as the earth projects its motion into the heavens, and then seems to be at rest while they revolve.

(5) Therefore the only experience out of which the idea of necessary connection in nature could arise is the experience of inseparable association of those ideas in our own mind projected outwards.

3. *Knowing how we derive the conviction, we can easily determine its value.*

It is purely subjective — like all habits formed in response to the environment, it is of great practical use, but no more a part of nature than is the horizon of the actual landscape. Hence we define cause as, "An object followed by another, whose appearance *always conveys the thought* to that other." That is: —

"When we say that one object is connected with another, we mean *only that they have acquired a connection in our thoughts.*"

Conclusion. Hume's position is now generally accepted by the scientific school of writers, of whom Spencer, Huxley, Tyndall are representatives. There is, however, a single amendment that they insist upon with great emphasis. It is clearly seen that if each individual had to begin life *de novo*, his earlier experience would not be uniform enough to originate customary conviction so rapidly as he actually attains it. A child does not have to be burned often in order to dread the fire. But if we take into account the fact of heredity, all this difficulty vanishes. *Customs are inherited.* Convictions, therefore, are the result of our own customary experience, plus the experience of ancestors back for thousands of genera-

tions. What they claim for the conviction of the uniformity of nature they also assert is true of all our ultimate moral and religious ideas and axioms. None of these do they affirm to be absolutely true; all knowledge (conviction) is relative. They occupy their works with the examination of the several ideas we consider most sacred, attempting to study the customs of primitive man and show just what external circumstances these originated from, tracing ideas to their origin and showing their transformation, as the philologist traces English words to Greek roots. This is where this school of thought undermines the very foundation of ethics and religion, and forces every candid man to follow in Kant's footsteps in examining the premises, when he sees that, admit the premises, the conclusion must follow; therefore we must ask, Is it true that all our knowledge comes from (sense) experience?

VIII

KANT ON DATING AND LOCATING¹

PART I

LET us by examples test the truth of our previous statements, *viz.*, that it is impossible to date and locate events (things) save as we assume the existence of one eternal Substance of which all events are phases.

PROP. I. Location is never absolute, that is, with reference to space itself.

Proof. Space is invisible; were it a many-colored map the position of objects in space could be *seen*; just as in daylight we can see where on the shore a lighthouse is situated. But this is not possible; the case is more like a lighthouse at night. The mariner sees nothing but the light. If he is unfamiliar with the coast, he can locate it only by calculation. Space is hidden as by eternal night, only the things in it appear; how can we tell where they are?

PROP. II. Assume the existence of a substance, occupying space, that has such attributes as enable us to identify its several parts, it will then be possible to determine where on that substance we are, but not where in space either it or we may happen to be. That is, we can locate ourselves relatively to it, but never absolutely.

¹ An early pamphlet, reprinted as an example of the explanations and illustrations given to the class in connection with the study of Watson's *Selections*. There were four such pamphlets on Kant.

EXAMPLES. 1. At sea in a fog, we can locate ourselves with reference to the ship only. A man slowly walking on deck cannot know whether he actually moves or not. If the ship is drifting in a direction opposite to his course at any given moment, he may be actually at rest with reference to space. 2. Let the fog lift, but the sky remain cloudy; what was formerly true of the man now holds of the ship. It moves with reference to the waves; but which is moving, waves or ship, cannot be decided; could we know by any means that it was the ship, still the current, say the Gulf Stream in which it happened to be, might be moving in the opposite direction and equal to the ship's progress, so the resultant again would be rest. 3. If another ship comes in sight, we know only our position relative to it; if the distance between the two lessens, one or the other is moving, but which? 4. When the mainland appears, we have a substance whose parts can be identified. We know our situation, yet *not with reference to space*, for the earth like the ship is moving. 5. We now have an astronomical problem to solve, *viz.*, where in space is the earth? Here the sun is our landmark. We tell our orbit around it and calculate where in that orbit we are at the present time. 6. But our sun itself is in motion. Where is the centre of its orbit? Which of all these bright stars is our sun's sun, and, therefore, our "grand-sun," as Professor Peirce of Harvard used to call it? Science can settle this question, but what of our great grand-sun, or more accurately on the basis of the nebula hypothesis, our great grandfather?

And how much farther must we go? Is there no fixed point in space from which to reckon? No.

The centre of gravity of the entire universe is fixed. All the convulsions in nature can never make this deviate a hair's-breadth, since (as we know *a priori* that) action and reaction must be equal. But who can find the centre? Our location can never be more than a relative one. In the fog we can tell where on the ship we are; under more favorable conditions we determine "where on earth" we are; then, "where under the sun;" then "where under heaven;" possibly in the distant future some may venture to guess "where in the broad universe" we are; but never "where in space," nor can they ever determine our absolute motion, if, perchance, there is any. Observe, then, that substance, not space, is our standard. We locate with reference to it, be it in motion or rest, we care not.

7. But the senses reveal no substance, only attributes, attributes that have no more permanence than a rainbow. Color is continually renewed, sound has no duration save as repeated like light, and even touch is naught but *continued* resistance. All are *phenomenal*. Were there no such thing as substance assumed to exist, were we content only with phenomena, how could we obtain even relative location? Since antecedent and consequent cannot be determined without accurate location, where would be the uniformity of experience?

OBJECTION. But has Kant proved anything? Suppose that, instead of being permanent, substance were annihilated and re-created every moment, or that there were no substance at all, but, instead, the same phenomena that we have now; could we tell the difference? Should we not date and locate exactly the same? If so, why affirm that there must be the

a priori synthetic cognition of substance for common sense experience (Physics)?

This question, if asked in seriousness, would indicate a total misunderstanding of Kant's problem. His question is not "what is," or "what might nature be," but "what are we obliged to postulate concerning it in order to perform those mental processes by which alone we come to a *cognition* of common sense experience as opposed to mere sense perception;" not what is necessary in order for nature to *be* uniform, but in order for us to become *convinced* of that uniformity. He answers that the least that is involved in uniformity is antecedent and consequent, not as perceived by sense, but as objectively dated and located. Now, how determine (*i. e.*, be convinced) that a given event happened at a certain place as the consequent of certain other events? For instance, the immigrants, who formerly settled in the far West, took with them their household goods. Suppose that one took among other things his flower-pots, how are you to convince him that there is any causal relation between the flowers that bloom in his new home and the seeds he planted a few months before in his old home, two or three hundred miles away? We reply, not by an attempt at location of the two events in *absolute space*, for this would rather make it impossible for him to believe in such causal relation; the antecedent (sowing the seed) and the consequent (flowers) are millions of miles apart, how can they be related? Conviction of identity of substance (flower-pots) is the only connecting link between antecedent and consequent in this instance. Observe, not the actual identity but one's *conviction* of such identity. If some one mischievously changes his flower-pot for another just like

it, so that the difference cannot be detected, the result is all the same. But once let him suspect the identity of the substance in question, and he is all at sea respecting antecedent and consequent. He knows that a thousand things *might* happen, but which of all these did actually occur? That is his problem. He cannot be convinced that this sequence *did* occur, unless he is convinced that it *must* have occurred. "Necessity" is his only ground of "certainty." There is but one possible source of conviction of necessity, *viz.*, the conviction of the identity of substance, and that all events as states or phases of that substance mutually determine each other, *i. e.*, that the existence of one causes the existence of others. The mere possibility that one event may be the consequent of another makes it ridiculous for me to *believe* that it actually *is* so; as it would be for students to believe that because I *might be* in Boston this morning, therefore I *am* in Boston, and so there will be no recitation. We admit that if substance were annihilated and created, or if there were only phenomena presenting the same appearance as now, and there were no substance at all, we should indeed be deceived, and should reckon places and dates just as at present; but in order to so deceive us there must be in our minds the *conviction of the permanence of substance*. Just as at the bank, a counterfeiter can deceive by his imitations only so long as the cashier is convinced of the existence of the person whose name he is considering, and of his ability to identify the signature. Raise suspicions as to this and a counterfeit ceases to be dangerous. Once doubt the identity of substance and such a phenomenal world as is referred to above could no longer be *real* (objectively dated and located) to us. Hence

Kant proves, not the objective existence of substance, but, instead, that it is an "*a priori* synthetic cognition" or postulate: a law of thought. Let us show that the same is proved with reference to *dating* events.

Time is invisible. Were it a chain of different colored links, and each event hung on its proper place, we could see "its exact date." But, as a matter of fact, we never, not even when looking at the clock, *see* time; we always reckon it. We cannot, therefore, by the senses date any event objectively. Our task now is to show that without the "*a priori* synthetic cognition" of the fact that, (a) "IN ALL MUTATIONS OF THE OBJECTS OF SENSE, SUBSTANCE REMAINS (IS PERMANENT), (b) AND THE QUANTUM OF THESE OBJECTS IS, IN NATURE, NEITHER INCREASED NOR LESSENED," we should never be able to do this at all.

PROP. I. Time being invisible, something that will appeal to the senses must be found to take its place. This is substance.

PROP. II. Instead of dealing with minutes, we substitute the successive phases of this substance.

PROP. III. To reckon time is simply to determine the series of phases that *must* occur and then ascertain the one that is now transpiring, *i. e.*, *show whereabouts in the series this event is.*

ILLUSTRATIONS. 1. When we wake up, say in the night, after a sound sleep, how do we pick up the threads of consciousness and recover the knowledge of our own identity? The complete answer to this question will be reserved for the next pamphlet. The first step in the process is to determine more or less accurately the *time*. This is our present problem.

Were time visible, the senses and memory would furnish an accurate answer. However, instead of

straining our eyes in the endeavor to see it, we turn to some substance and note the change that has occurred there. 1. (a) If it is still dark we make self a clock and observe to what extent the fatigue of the previous evening has given place to consciousness of rest. (b) If we are sick this clock is too irregular to be trusted, and we substitute for it our room and notice, for instance, the change in temperature, (c) or we raise the curtain and look at the sky. Nature is our standard clock, the heavens its dial, the sun or star the hour hand, while the earth is a pictorial dial-calendar, to record the months. Notice the phrases we use for telling time, such as "On Linden *when the sun was low*," this for the hour of day; and to designate the time of the year, the poem adds, "All bloodless lay the untrodden snow." Other similar phrases are "daybreak," "twilight," "seed time," "harvest," "equinoctial," and a multitude of poetic terms. We never give real time when we tell what o'clock (what phase of the clock) it is, but only a subdivision of the *earth's* rotation which, owing to the slow retardation of its motion, is not the same now as in early geological ages. 2. Suppose Greely in his expedition had reached the north pole and lost all his chronometers; also that the snow as far as the eye could reach had been perfectly uniform in appearance, Nature would have been a clock with its time hands removed. The sun and stars moving in circles parallel to the horizon, would not mark the hour of day unless something could be fixed as a point, from which to determine the amount of their motion. An iceberg of peculiar shape on the horizon would have served the purpose admirably. But had he and all his men fallen asleep, there could be nothing, save their own feelings, to indicate

whether they had slept a few hours, or a few days plus these few hours. Could they have hibernated like bears, and on awaking have found themselves returned to their homes by rescuers, it would have required calculation based on the distance traveled and the difficulties overcome, to convince them of the time they had slept. Had their home been in one of those Western towns that spring up, like Jonah's gourd, in a night, so that where they left an unbroken prairie they now found stately palaces of wealth, they could easily have believed themselves a new edition of Rip Van Winkle. Had the original Rip Van Winkle awakened in a place entirely strange, no testimony of men, nothing but his own appearance, could have convinced him of the "flight of time."

In view of these facts, let us suppose that death is a dreamless sleep and that at the resurrection, on the recovery of consciousness, we, as is now our custom, first appeal to our own condition, our feelings, to determine the length of time that has passed. May not the interval of thousands of years seem like an instantaneous translation? When we look about us and discover "a new heaven and a new earth, for the former things are passed away," will there be anything to remove that conviction? [For other questions concerning our memory of our past life see the next pamphlet].

3. Let us ascertain the extent to which it is possible to measure time. (a) Suppose that there are no other changes in nature than daily rotation of the earth, that at the end of twenty-four hours all things, even our own selves, are just where they were at the beginning. It is clear that in this case the day could be as accurately subdivided as now, but only memory would

keep the record of the days of the week or month, and soon the count would be lost; different people would date differently and business would be in terrible confusion.

Hence, for the purposes of business and of history there must not merely be uniform and orderly changes in nature, like the beats of a pendulum, but these must be *progressive*.

[Question. In early times before there were any artificial means of keeping time, and nature was their only clock, suppose the sun had stood still, did not their only clock stop? How were they then able to measure time so as to determine how long it stood still?]

(b) In addition to the rotation of the earth, let it revolve about the sun, bringing the orderly change of seasons. We could now keep our reckoning for a year with accuracy, but if each New Year's day everything reverted to its exact condition of twelve months ago, memory would soon lose the count of years, and history would be but little better off than before.

Hence history requires progressive changes in nature that ravel not out, like "Penelope's web," but move ever onward from year to year. Now if personal identity depends on ability to reckon time (and it surely does), then such progress is the essential condition of *our own intelligent existence*. Were it not true that through the ages one increasing (progressive) purpose runs, the thoughts of men could not be widened with the process of the suns.

(c) We are able to reckon time back into the geological ages so far as we can trace back these lines of progress. But a break in these lines is a gap we can never fill, save by finding other lines of a different

nature that are not thus interrupted. In all these cases we deal with one identical earth and make all events states or phases of it, succeeding each other in a uniform progressive order.

(d) We can reckon back of the foundation of this earth in astronomy by identifying the solar system with the nebula from which it was formed, and then considering the earth and all planets to be states or phases of its progressive development.

(e) We can perhaps go beyond even this, and by science discover that the whole universe was once a vast nebula, of whose development our solar nebula was a phase. If so, we can date the birth of our system in terms of a higher system, and in thought at least, ultimately, in terms of the universe as a whole.

(f) Must we pause here? Observe that to date anything is to make it a phase or product of something higher than itself. Can we speak of a beginning of this universe? If so, we refer to as definite a date as the blossoming of a rose, and like the rose it must be considered as a phase or product of something higher. Scripture teaches that the physical universe is the product of a spiritual being who created it as a factor in the working out of His plan of redemption. "Who created all things by Jesus Christ; to the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known, by the church, the manifold wisdom of God, *according to the eternal purpose* which he purposed in Christ Jesus, our Lord."

(g) Prior to creation, God was *the* substance, in terms of whose states or phases (*i. e.*, works) alone could time be reckoned. As the sun is for business purposes the great chronometer by which all clocks

are set, so is God the only chronometer of the physical universe that our mind can use when in thought we attempt to deal with eternity. Time is nothing in itself; succession is impossible where there is nothing to succeed. Time apart from God is a mere abstraction; like the conception of "existence" from which all objects have been eliminated, it has no objective reality. Real time is nothing other than the uniformly progressive series of His actions in the fulfillment of His eternal plan. To say that time is eternal is to say that His work is unbegun and unending. It is not accidental that the world by common consent, believing that Christ was the "fullness of the Godhead bodily," and that in His work culminates the entire work of God, have made His birth the point from which to date the events of human life. To date a letter in terms of His life, as we do when we write, A. D. 1889, is to unconsciously recognize ourselves as part of the universal unfolding of His plan. "I said, O my God, take me not away in the midst of my days; thy years are throughout all generations. Of old hast thou laid the foundation of the earth; and the heavens are the work of thy hands. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure; yea, all of them shall wax old like a garment; as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed; but thou art the same, and thy years shall have no end."

[Question. How would Kant answer Clifford's position, that things and events in nature have no more real connection than pictures in a wheel of life; *i. e.*, simply sequence, no causal relation, no substance, nothing but phenomenal reality can ever be known by us?]

PROP. IV. This substance must be permanent.

Proof. (a) Time is permanent; moments are fleeting, but the series is *one* and *eternal*.

In our dreams there seems to be a "time-series" entirely distinct from that of waking moments, also the "time-series" of each dreamer is different. If for the moment we suppose this to be true, we realize that what happens in one "time-series" can never be dated in any other; therefore the events that occur in each can never be a part of the one and the same universe. Each "time-series" must have its own world or fairyland. This is the way our dreams *seem* to exist. We never attempt to connect them as parts of one and the same dream-Nature. But if there is to be for us *objective* 'common sense experience,' *i. e.*, that which others can share with us, that in which there is a hard and fast uniformity, we are forced to deny the reality of these apparently distinct "time-series," and assume one that is permanent and eternal, into which all the others (apparently real) must be translated. But in so doing the dreams and fairylands of our childhood are sacrificed as being merely the work of fancy. It is easy to understand why fairy stories are believed in by children and savages, and why they lose their hold on a scientific age. Heretofore each nation had its own terms of dating events, *viz.*, in the reign of such a king, so many years after the founding of a city, etc., but as we become civilized we adopt a universal chronology, and spend much money in establishing "standard time." The prime postulate, therefore, of intelligence; the one condition without which there can be no civilization, no common objective experience, is the unity and eternity of time, *i. e.*, its permanence.

(b) But as substance is our substitute for this time

it must be equally permanent and equally eternal, and what is more, it must be ONE. What we term substances must be but parts of one whole, acted and reacted upon by that whole. To blot out our substance and create another would make time reckoning impossible. The interval between the two universes, whether a moment or a million years, would be beyond our powers to either calculate or conceive.

PROP. V. The quantum of this substance can neither be increased nor lessened without destroying our reckoning as much as total annihilation and creation would do.

Proof. Uniformity is possible only when the conditions remain absolutely the same. Our clocks are liable to be irregular because of change in the environment; temperature, rust, dust, vary the results; especially are we uncertain as to their regularity when there is possibility of some one's having *tampered* with them. What is true of the watch is true of the rotation of the earth. *Outside* bodies, the sun and moon, by the tides they cause, retard its rotation, though less now than formerly; every meteor that falls upon the earth produces a slight effect. Should a very large heavenly body come near our orbit (as do the comets), that would produce results that could be computed. From the point of view of eternity, our earth or even our solar system is a very poor clock. But the universe, as a whole, has no environment, therefore nothing can disturb its series of changes; action and reaction are wholly within it and are always equal. Taken as a whole it is a clock that can never vary throughout all eternity. But allow the possibility of increase of the quantum of substance, or assume that any substance can be anni-

hilated, and we are entirely at sea. We have no means of measuring the disturbance; our clock has been tampered with, not merely in one place but in every part; not a single change takes place, as before.

For example, increase the quantum of substance and you increase the force of gravity, which determines weight. Therefore motion is not what it was before, the heat evolved by conversion of motion is different, the chemical changes are affected in amount and rapidity, the amount of energy required for action on our part is increased, fatigue affects the rapidity of our thoughts. Not an event in the world but that will in time be different because of the introduction of this disturbing element. And how great that difference none can tell. Now, you say, this is unimportant. No matter how great the change, if gradual we could hardly find it out. Nature would seem as uniform as ever. Well, that is not what Kant is discussing. For aught we know there is no uniformity in Nature herself, but there can be no doubt of our conviction of uniformity, and our problem is to determine "how" we came by this. The answer is clearly demonstrated above, *viz.*, that we have to be convinced, first, of the permanence of substance in order to date in objective time at all. Without this conviction we could never get outside of the fairyland of dreams and the confusion of sense perception. We have to be convinced, second, of the impossibility of this clock's being tampered with, or all our time reckoning so necessary to objective dating, and so for uniformity, can inspire in us no confidence. When absorbed in thought, hours are as moments to us, but to another to whom the subject is dull, time drags so slowly that he comes to believe that all clocks have

stopped and some one like Joshua has commanded the sun to stand still. How determine the facts? Time is invisible; like the grave it never reveals what has taken place. Nature is our only clock, and if there be a suspicion that it is irregular we have nothing to appeal to. Our feelings become as reliable as anything else. This sends us back to childhood and fairyland again. A common experience for mankind becomes impossible. Civilization itself is at stake, and in the next pamphlet we shall see that more than this is involved, *viz.*, our own *sanity*, our personal identity. By way of proof, notice that as sure as our dreams develop a "time-series" different from that which we know as objective, so surely do we assume a different personality (dream-Ego).

[*Note.* By universe we, of course, do not limit ourselves to the physical world, neither by substance do we mean simply that which is *material*. Spirit is substance, in the highest sense of the term the only substance, of which everything is a phase or product. Neither do we in the above discussion deny the possibility of miracles; we should most certainly deny them if we affirmed that the physical universe was all; for then it could have no environment, nothing outside as a disturbing influence; therefore, as all action and reaction would be *within* it and in all cases the *resultant a constant quantity*, it would follow that the slightest variation of physical nature *as a whole* would be inconceivable. To admit even the possibility of it would be to give up the whole process of dating and locating, and thus plunge ourselves into insanity. For such variation would necessarily be the work of chance, and this principle, once admitted anywhere, utterly annihilates the idea of cause and effect every-

where. But if we make the material world only a *part* (as we are forced to do if time is eternal), then it has a spiritual environment, and this may produce disturbance in "nature" as readily as the sun and moon produce tides in the ocean, or as temperature or magnets variations in my watch. However, our doctrine remains as before, *i. e.*, that in the universe *as a whole* there cannot be *irregularity*. Uniformity "*under the same conditions*" is the law of the *part*, but the whole has no conditions, hence here, we say, *uniformity*, absolute and eternal. But that is only saying that with Him there is "neither variableness, nor shadow of turning."]

OBSERVATION. The above discussion proves nothing objectively, *i. e.*, in the noumenal world. We do not claim that Nature is thus, but simply that we have to be *convinced* that it is (*viz.*, that "substance is eternal, and that the quantum does not increase or diminish") in order to date and locate to the extent of securing uniformity in our experience (which, though objective, is only *phenomenally objective*), and that without this we can have no sanity, *i. e.*, no consciousness of *personal identity*. As above stated, these convictions (categories) must hold also of dream-land if uniformity, (and consequently identity of the dream-Ego), are to any extent made a part of a given dream. Yet, surely, in the most orderly dream nothing is proved of the noumenal world, if such there be, and the same is true of our waking experience thus far.

IX

WHAT IS IMPLIED IN COMMUNICATING WITH FRIENDS ¹

EITHER all our knowledge comes from experience — more than that, all our ideas either true or false, *i. e.*, our wildest superstitions as truly as science itself, come from experience — or the mind is able to obtain knowledge and ideas outside of and beyond experience.

If we assume that the latter is true, we may call these ideas and cognitions *a priori*. *A priori* knowledge must be obtained in a particular way. If this is denied one must fall back on mysticism and say we simply possess it, or that it is a divine gift, a miraculous inheritance, or that the mind in some way creates it out of nothing. If there is a particular way in which we obtain such cognitions, it would be proper to inquire just what are the steps that the mind takes. What process does it go through with in order to attain such marvelous results? Until this question is answered, would it be possible to have absolute confidence that these ideas were not mere convictions, possibly necessary and unavoidable, just as the horizon is to physical vision, nevertheless, not actual knowledge of things as they are? On the other hand, if the mind simply possesses these convictions and can give no account of them, would the mere fact that we value them highly preclude an honest searcher for

¹ A pamphlet of the middle or later years in its present form. It was in use in 1906.

truth from raising the question whether they had any validity? Might not a mind be so constituted as to have just the opposite *a priori* ideas and value them just as much? Do these questions seem absurd or would you encourage a student to push them as far as possible?

If all our knowledge comes from experience, it seems fair to inquire what are its limits. Men wasted much valuable time and many private fortunes trying to discover perpetual motion. All this might have been saved if only they had understood the limits of mechanical possibilities as expressed in "conservation of energy." Might we not save many useless discussions and avoid widespread superstitions by determining the exact limits of knowledge, and then excluding all topics or policies that fall outside these? Is not strict agnosticism concerning everything beyond these limits not merely our duty, but also our own safety?

How can the limits of knowledge be determined? Since the days of Kant this question has been answered by an illustration. A child who sees a dove flying in a storm and buffeted by the wind hastily concludes that if only it could get above the atmosphere it would be unhindered, and might easily leave this earth and soar to heaven. But when the child learns how the dove flies at all, when he understands that only through the resistance of the air is the bird borne up and able to move on the wing, then he discovers the limits of its highest flight. Never again can he think of its getting beyond the atmosphere of earth. So when we accurately determine the processes of attaining knowledge we shall realize that all subjects that cannot be brought within these pro-

cesses are forever beyond our ken. Here, then, is our problem: "What are the true and only processes by which knowledge is gained?"

1. Let us answer this question by investigating a particular case, *viz.*, just what must one do in order to communicate with his friends, *i. e.*, know the very thoughts, motives, and purposes of his most intimate companion at a given time. Surely he must begin with what his senses give. This, we have demonstrated, is merely phenomena, not noumena; merely states of consciousness or mental pictures — color, sound, form, touch, every sensation is merely the effect upon the consciousness of some external cause, and may be as unlike that cause as music is unlike the piano that produces it. Press your eye, and the whole room with all the people it contains will visibly be displaced. Is it the real room or the mental image that moves? When a man is intoxicated the whole street is unsteady and the largest buildings reel. Has there been an earthquake or are his objects all as subjective as a dream world? When one approaches Walker Hall it grows in size; when he moves backward it becomes sensibly smaller. He has the testimony of his own eyes to the fact; can he doubt it? Surely not, but he may ask what the fact really is. Is he dealing with the objective building or with its effects on his consciousness? Is there anything more wonderful here than that these effects vary when he changes, even though the external object remains the same?

Everything we see, hear, touch, taste, or smell is immediately known only as a state of consciousness as truly subjective as any creation of imagination. All are merely ideas. The difference consists simply in this: (*a*) Generally ideas produced by imagination are

faint while those produced by sense are vivid. This is not always true. In dreams, in illusions, and in illness (hallucinations), pictures of imagination are as vivid as those of sense and often quite indistinguishable from them. (b) Works of imagination are generally subject to our control; we can vary them by effort, while sense pictures are little influenced by our acts. What I see when I open my eyes is not a matter of my choice. Be it ever so unwelcome, I can avoid it only by turning away. I cannot change the picture itself. We conclude that the cause of the former is the self, but the cause of the latter we infer to be an outside agent. But is that agent outside the true mind, the universal mind, or merely outside the finite consciousness? Note that memory resembles sense pictures more nearly than those of imagination, *viz.*, it has a vividness or reality that belongs to the former, and it refuses to change at our command. Mr. Gough told Amherst students that he would give his right arm if he could blot out certain memories. But are memories therefore the product of some external non-mental agent?

2. This brings us to the next step or process in communing with our friends. We must use these mental pictures as data and from them infer their cause. This process is similar to the telegraph clerk's work. She receives from her instrument merely clicks. Upon these she fits the code of the office and then spells out a message. But suppose her code is not the one used by the sender of the message? When I was in college my classmate was startled by a telegram ordering him to get a hearse and meet his father at the station at a certain train. Often the task more nearly resembles translating a cipher dispatch; things

appear so different from what they really are, and our phenomena are so mixed up as often to exactly reverse the order of events in nature. Thus the earth seems to be flat and immovable, while the sun rises and sets. Huxley says, "I have often stood at close of day with my face towards the west and tried to see the horizon rise and veil the sun, but in spite of all I can do it simply stays there while the sun slowly drops below it. Yet I know the reverse is the fact, and my faith in modern astronomy is not shaken by the testimony of my senses." Take a simpler case. I am in the fields in autumn; a bird drops dead at my feet, then I hear an explosion and looking up see smoke around the muzzle of a rifle. Did the senses tell me the truth here? Could a bird by falling produce a sound so loud, and did this jar the rifle and cause it to discharge, or must I rearrange these events, and if so according to what code? I never see the four sides of Walker Hall simultaneously but in succession. The same is generally true of the inside of different rooms in this building. Can I trust the senses and say that really they do not exist side by side, but instead that here is a panorama in which one follows another? I see in the same field of view two objects in the heavens above; surely these coexist, who can doubt that? But one is a flash of lightning, the other the north star so remote that it takes forty-nine years for its light to reach my eye; therefore if it were annihilated to-night I should continue to see it for forty-nine years to come, if I lived so long. Can I then be sure that because these two objects are affirmed by the senses to coexist they do so objectively, or have I simply evidence through vision that the north star was there about a half century ago to-night? Many

people are not afraid of lightning but they are of thunder. Some years ago cattle were killed in Shutesbury during a shower; the reporter of the *Springfield Republican* went to the owner to get the facts. Among other questions was this: "Did you see the flash of lightning that killed them?" To which the farmer replied, "It wa'n't the lightning at all, 't was a 'tunk of thunder' that did the business." Did he not have the evidence of his senses? therefore why not trust them?

Everywhere we are correcting and rearranging sense phenomena according to our code. What does not square with this we call illusion, such as the bending of the oar blade when it is put under water, the meeting of earth and sky on the horizon, the existence of a whole room inside a mirror, or a firmament of stars in a pond at night, the increase and decrease in size of a building as we approach or recede, or the movement of the landscape when we ride swiftly in the train. Then, again, as to the order of phenomena. Just keep a "day-book" and record your mental pictures exactly as experienced and note the inextricable confusion. Here is a sample: Sitting in my study during a summer evening I am startled by a brilliant flash of lightning; item No. 1. Some one cries out in fear; No. 2. Doorbell rings. A book agent enters and insists on showing me a new atlas. Just as I am looking at the chart giving the ocean currents I hear a heavy clap of thunder; items 3, 4, and 5. Next the rain falls in torrents. My telephone rings and I talk with my friends who tell me that their house was struck. The railroad train whistles. Then comes a gust of wind that is a veritable hurricane. Conversation follows about the

storm. Book agent presses his claims for further examination of maps and I am soon in China studying the position of Russia. Storm subsides — other flashes of lightning — telephone again rings — more thunder — other callers come. I retire and dream of China. Here are numerous items badly confused. In the morning I go to my classes. In the afternoon I take a drive and find a bridge up and a tree shattered. Here are a few phenomena, but there are a multitude that I have not recorded. No two days is there the same sequence, yet somehow all this confusion causes me no trouble, for from the “day-book” I post a ledger and connect events not as they appeared but as they really occurred. Then I make the lightning the antecedent, not of the coming of the book agent, but of the thunder and the riven tree. The loss of the bridge was the sequence, not of my drive, but of the storm the night before. Not in the day-book of sense, but in the ledger of common sense or judgment is there order. Sometimes the ledger cannot be posted, as in case of the raw recruit in battle, or the rustic in the business part of the city, or where one is recovering from illness, or in climbing a mast on a ship in a storm; then the head swims and the person becomes impersonal. Panic seizes the soldiers, the sailor falls into the water, the rustic is dazed or crazed. What would life be if the messages of sense were not corrected, the defective parts (and there are many) supplied, and the order rearranged by our code? Is it not important to ask where we get this code, and is it the right one, and does our ledger really represent the facts in nature, or are we simply writing mythology instead of history or science?

The code we use is one expressing the laws of thought, the one stating how the mind itself would have worked if it had created or imagined these sense pictures. No other code is possible for us. But what right have we to assume that the material world outside works like mind, *i. e.*, that this code will fit there? If it does not, what is the value of the message we infer by this process? You reply, we cannot be sure, of course, but we make the hypothesis, and if it fits and explains these phenomena that is certainly enough for us. I reply that here you beg the whole question. (a) You assume that external nature is a cosmos, not chaos, simply because your mind must so work or you are insane, therefore whatever reduces phenomena to order you call objective. (b) Again, you assume consistency in nature, you give no weight to a hypothesis that contradicts itself. Such a hypothesis you say is not worth spending any time over. But what does this imply? If matter and mind are distinct realities, why should nature be such that it should seem consistent when judged by mind? We know how ridiculous it would be for a rustic who has heard only English to attempt to pass judgment upon the pronunciation of students who claim to speak good French. Of course he would praise the man who pronounces the foreign tongue most nearly like English, and ridicule the others; therein consists his error. Are we not constantly making a similar mistake? We can have no knowledge of nature except through induction. This process begins with a hypothesis, and the hypothesis, you say, must be a reasonable one. But what is it "to stand to reason?" Reason is simply a thought process. To conform to it is to make your ideas square simply with the laws

of mind. But why should a thought process have anything in common with a physical process? Why should not the most unreasonable hypothesis be just as likely, yes, even more likely, to square with events in nature than a reasonable one?

Suppose space to be given the power of reasoning, that is, to become personal. Its laws of thought would be the truths concerning its own nature, *viz.*, "extension in three dimensions." To affirm that a round square would be a contradiction would mean, not that the subject contradicted the predicate, but that the very nature of space was opposed to this figure and so made it impossible. The relation of circumference to diameter of a circle is fixed, not arbitrarily, but by the nature of space. This ratio was as true before the first mathematician existed as it is to-day. Annihilate every circle in the universe but leave space still in existence and this ratio would be as true as ever. If at any time a circle should actually be drawn it would merely conform to, not create, this truth. If then space could reason, it would discover all the truths of geometry, and could pass judgment on the forms proposed for architecture and works of art, *i. e.*, upon all schemes that concerned extension, for nothing could ever exist in space that did not conform perfectly to its own laws. But could space reason about time? The one cannot change, the other cannot rest; all parts of space must coexist, no two points in time could coexist. Their very constitutions are different; how then could either by reasoning (that is, making its ideas conform to its own nature) know anything about the other?

With us, too, reasonable is wholly a relative term. It simply means, in harmony with our mental nature

or our mental processes. Of course everything that is subjective to mind must be reasonable, but why should the objective world, if wholly outside mind and independent of it, be reasonable too? Many people who intend to be very humble are unwilling to admit these limitations of thought. With them reason is the power to get truth. What is truth? Why, just truth, they say. If every thing or being were annihilated in the universe, even God Himself, they suppose truth would still be true, and if any other beings ever did exist they would have to conform to these truths. This conception is a bare abstraction personified into an independent entity. No; Plato long ago taught the world that all truth is concrete. It holds only of particular things; destroy these things and with them go those truths too. Eternal truth holds only of an eternal being. Could there be not this but some other eternal being, just the opposite truths might be valid. Let us recur again to our illustration taken from geometry. This science is a series of truths concerning space. All geometrical axioms are true wherever this particular three-dimensioned space exists, and they are just as eternal as this space and no more so. Could space be annihilated, not a wreck of geometry would be left behind. Could some other space be substituted for ours, we could no more guess as to what its geometry would be than we can imagine what a tenth sense might reveal. It is clear, then, that everything that exists in our space must be geometrical. This is self-evident. But why should that which does not exist in space, that which is not spatial, why should such a reality as time, or virtue, or love, or God, be made to square with geometry? True, if our supposedly personal space is to think of these

things at all it must do so solely in terms of itself, but is that any justification for predicating its own attributes of them? Would it not be vastly more consistent for space to simply decline to think of that which is not subjective? Would not absolute agnosticism on all such topics be the only course of honesty?

Can we not take the same position concerning mind? If we think at all concerning a world outside of our true selves, must we not do so in terms of, or according to, the laws of mind, and is not this ridiculous? An hypothesis concerning that world might be more thinkable if it were reasonable, but will it come any nearer to expressing the actual facts that transpire there than the most unreasonable guess we could formulate? Would not its very reasonableness be the one thing that should excite our suspicion of it? The law of all inference from the sense phenomena is that of cause and effect. Is this wholly mental, you ask. Do we not know that causality holds in nature? The evidence here is absolutely conclusive. If all our knowledge comes from experience, we can have no experience of anything save of what is in the mind. As well might a man born blind get the knowledge of color, or the person born deaf get the idea of sound, as for us to get the idea of cause and effect in any other way than by the experience of mental or psychical causality. Causality is, we know, true of our mental processes. This much can be vouched for by direct introspection without the aid of inference. For any one to deny that the mind can really know its own states as they really are is to affirm that very fact in the act of making the denial, since unless your mind in the present instance is sure and accurate in its knowledge of the fact *that it denies the possibility of such*

knowledge there is no real denial, and the whole question is left untouched. Unless consciousness is accurate in the distinctions it draws for itself, denial and affirmation are exactly the same thing, doubt and conviction in no way differ, truth and untruth are not opposites. It is simply impossible to doubt the power of the mind to know accurately its own processes and its own subjective states. James goes so far as to affirm that this knowledge is always with equal clearness. What we call an indefinite vague idea differs from a clear idea, not in your certitude of it, but simply in its own make-up. In a picture of a hazy October afternoon the view of the mountains makes the haze a part of the picture, and such a picture is just as really and completely in your own gallery when you hang it up as is one of a Colorado landscape where all the outlines startle you with their boldness. The eye sees one picture as it is just as clearly as the other, the difference being in the pictures, not in clearness of vision. So of mental states.

If you are willing to admit that these are the logical consequences of affirming that all our knowledge is derived from experience, will you find very much difficulty in settling the limits of our knowledge? Could we ever imagine, I will not say know, but even imagine anything that is not a mental act or state? Could we ever dream of any law or axiom that was not simply a formula of our own mental processes or mental perspectives? Would there be the slightest reason for supposing that any of these ideas or axioms or laws hold of any other being or thing than our own mind? Do you suppose that your joy or your sorrow could be experienced by something outside of yourself not endowed with consciousness?

Why, then, should you think that the laws which govern your thought should hold of something outside the self which has no power of thought, that is, of dead matter? Would that not be affirming and denying thought out there all at the same time? Would you feel disposed to make the truths of your subjective three-dimension space apply to that which did not come within the sphere of your mental perspective? Would not such a procedure be the same thing as saying that it did, and at the same time that it did not, come into that sphere? How, then, do we come to have an idea of dead matter at all? We answer, clearly it is merely an abstraction. We fix our attention on some attributes of a state of consciousness and forget all others, — forget that it is merely a state of consciousness, — then we consider this abstraction as an independent reality, just as the Greeks did *Minerva*, and this is our physical universe. Dream landscapes are not real existences outside the mind, yet for all the world they seem so. But analyze external nature as you will and not a single attribute can you find there that is not mental so far as it goes. You have projected it out there or you could never have found it there. You remember the words of Coleridge:

“ we receive but what we give,
And in our life alone does nature live;
Ours is her wedding-garment, ours her shroud.”

Have I overdrawn the case, or is this a plain, honest inventory of just what experience is and just what thinking and reasoning really are, and therefore of their limits? Must I not, then, when I talk about the outside world, mean, not really that which is outside of self, but distinguish between two selves, the immedi-

ate present thinking, calculating, choosing, refusing, loving, hating, careless, careful, finite, dependent self which often is a mere caricature, a misrepresentation of the real self because so partial and incomplete as compared with that truer, larger, nobler self that seeks to find expression in all we do or say? Must I not distinguish between this present self and the larger independent self? Suppose the true self to be doing a great many things outside of the narrow limits of a state of consciousness which we call ours, then I would mean by the external world, not that which is external to his mind in its largest sense, but external to the narrower self, the present mental states. For me to infer the cause of my sensations would be to fit the laws of the present self to these data in order to determine how the larger self produced these data, just as in memory I take present pictures and by making them stand to reason verify my recollection of what I did at a period of time before this present. Observation is a process, then, [in which we go outside] of a narrower state of consciousness, but not outside of the universal self. We do so by inference from present sensations, thus learning what the larger self is doing. Memory is a similar process, learning what the smaller self did in the past.

Put the question in a different way. If the laws of thought are not known to be the laws of things, how can we ever know things? And can the laws of thought be known to be the laws of things — mark the word, I do not say the laws of thought be the laws of things, but *be known* to be the laws of things — unless we first know that both thought and things are products of exactly the same larger self, whom we may call God? Here is my problem. Must we not take

this view of our limitations or be absolutely agnostic concerning everything that transcends the smaller self? If the world is made up of separate independent entities, and if I were only one of them, they may or they may not be like me, but could I ever know whether they were or not? Should I have any right to guess at them by studying myself? Would not that be begging the whole question, and affirming that the laws of my thought really did apply to them? Put the question stronger than that. Could there be the slightest probability, if probability means a guess supported by *evidence*? There may be credulity of any possible grade, but not probability. I cannot see why one credulity is not just as good as another if you have no evidence to base your selection on.

3. The third step in the process of communicating with our friends comes after we persuade ourselves that we have gained accurate knowledge of the external physical world through the senses. From the physical contact of our friends, *i.e.*, words uttered, expressions of countenance, gestures (what Hume would call superficial properties), we must infer the secret hidden character and motives, distinguish between jest and earnest, knowledge and ignorance, frankness and reserve. This is a scientific problem. Beginning in childhood, and making at first the most embarrassing mistakes, we carefully repeat the inductive process till we get hypotheses that stand criticism, and in time gain confidence that our work is correct. This is our study of human nature. What is its basis? Simply this. If we had done these deeds, uttered these words, hesitated, become excited, then gone off abruptly, we should have had definite embarrassment and no little anger, therefore our friend

felt the same. Here is (a) vicarious knowledge of his mind following on vicarious knowledge of his external physical deeds. If all beings are separate and independent realities, we ought to have an agnosticism raised (lowered, possibly, would be more accurate) to the second power concerning the mental life of friends. But this is just the one thing we are most confident of. That and only that makes life worth living. Did an agnostic ever live who really doubted this knowledge? Why do agnostics publish books to prove their doctrine? Why do they answer up so sharply when criticised? How know that others meant by those words what they interpret them to mean? No, men are not agnostic on this subject. Not that we know all about others, but that we do know something of their thought and of the intent of their hearts. The phrases mother, father, mean this or they are mere mockeries. To be really agnostic on this question would be out and out insanity. So long as a spark of life glows in us we shall hold to our faith in our ability to read the thoughts of other members of the human race when we have adequate data. Some are quicker and keener than we in this work, but even a woman's intuitions are no miraculous power. The process so far as it may be carried is always and everywhere inductive, or when this has been completed and we simply apply its results, deductive. There is only one possible ground on which it can rest, *viz.*, that we know human nature as truly as physical nature to be uniform with our own conscious processes. Given this cognition and the path is so plain that the wayfaring man even, though a pluralist, need not err therein; but without this cognition the greatest genius is helpless. Indeed, the

clearer his mental vision the quicker will he realize his isolation from every one else.

But here is the old question, How is the pluralist going to know that other human beings are uniform with himself? Must he not logically believe in monism and refuse to consider the world as made up of separate independent entities? Is there any other possible ground for the conviction that our true thought processes, and therefore our laws of thought, are universal? On any other basis could we give preference, in considering the external world, to a reasonable hypothesis over one that was absurd (which means simply unreasonable)?

I cannot sympathize with many who publish extremely attractive books in which the view is taken that we need not bother ourselves with any such problem, but may just simply go right ahead and assume that the world is just what it appears to be, and never raise the question, "What are the limits of our knowledge." I am perfectly willing to concede that appearances seem real, but I am obliged to do the same for my dreams. Dream friendships, dream class rooms, dream students are just as real and vivid, so long as they last subjectively, as any mental pictures that my waking moments ever give, and for the moment I generally give myself up to the illusion. Sometimes I suspect at the time that it is all a dream, and then things grow shadowy and fail to inspire, even though they may not disappear. It would take away a great deal of inspiration in my life to really believe that the whole drama was all one vast dream, and that I should wake up in the Beyond to find that my joys and sorrows, hopes and fears have been wholly concerned with a phantom universe of my own creating. I still cling to

the conviction that my friends are really what I suppose them to be, and I can hold that view only on the monistic basis. This is so because surely my immediate acquaintance with the material world, and with my friends in it, is not with that world at all, but only with the mental phenomena subjective to my own consciousness. Press your eye, and what seems to be the whole room swims. Go towards what seems to be your friend and he grows larger, go away from him and he grows smaller. You cannot believe that the real objective friend changes through your act, surely not; simply that the mental picture which you make of him varies because of some things you have done. If you became dizzy the landscape would swim, if you were ill darkness would fall upon the world at noon-day. Is it the real world that you are so intimately concerned with, or simply the subjective phenomenal world through which you gain your knowledge of the external noumenon? If so, then there is room for the horrid question, "do you have that knowledge?" and if so "how do you get it?" Can you get it if monism be not true? Is there not a dim consciousness of monism in every mind which asserts itself the moment one becomes in earnest. We know the laws of thought are the laws of things. And is not this the reason why we are so confident in our judgment of others, and is not this the explanation of sovereignty and of courts of justice? If science did not appeal to this consciousness, should we have any faith in science? Those who do not believe in discussing this question, but simply in trusting appearances, do not believe in trusting all appearances. They would be the first to laugh at the man who bought a gold brick, or if their friend accepted Christian Science, or believed

that the earth is flat and the sun goes round it. They go out of their way often to give an unfriendly dig to those who accept the Bible just exactly as it reads, or are a little too gullible on the question of dual personality and the subliminal self. When it suits their purpose they are the sharpest kind of critics, but the moment a man in serious earnestness questions pluralism and wonders whether there is not some better premise upon which to discuss sociological questions, then they pounce upon him and reproach him for being a metaphysician. Pluralism is just as much metaphysics as monism. Metaphysics is nothing under the sun but a discussion of the premises with which all conclusions are ultimately concerned. What they object to is really a scientific method in metaphysics. They want just enough dogmatic metaphysics to enable them to enter into their particular department of physical science, but no more. They will take a part, but not the whole, since then they would have conclusions that are inconvenient. It seems to me that we may bring the same criticism against them that was brought against Senator Mahone when he ran for reelection in one of the former campaigns. A colored campaign speaker told his audience that he could illustrate Mahone's friendship for the colored race by the following dream (since Mahone in former campaigns had been very friendly to the negro until after the election). The colored orator said: "I dreamed the other night that I died and went up to the gates of the Celestial City and knocked for admittance. Peter answered my call, but instead of opening to me, asked, 'Who's there?' I replied, 'Sambo.' He again asked, 'Are you afoot or mounted?' I told the truth and said,

'afoot.' 'Well,' said Peter, 'you can't enter here unless you come in style, so go away to the other place.' Just as I was going down I met Senator Mahone, who also had crossed the river. He wanted to know where I was going, and I told him my experience at the Celestial Gate, for I thought it would be of no use for him to try. He grew awfully solemn for a moment, then a smile lighted up his countenance as he said, 'I have it, Sambo. You just get down on all fours, and I will mount your back and we will both go in together in fine style. It would be as much of an advantage to you as to me.' I thought it was a splendid scheme so I obeyed, and pranced up to the gate of heaven with high hopes, carrying him in good form. Mahone rapped as I had done, and the same voice asked, 'Who's there?' He replied, 'Senator Mahone of Virginia, he wants to enter.' 'Are you afoot or mounted,' said St. Peter. 'Mounted,' was the reply. Slowly the gate trembled and began to open, and I thought surely I had won at last, when I heard these words: 'Very well, Senator Mahone, walk right in, but hitch your horse outside there.' This he did without a word of consideration for me." It seems to me that a similar use of metaphysics is made by those who refuse to discuss with scientific candor and seriousness the problem of the limitations of our knowledge.

X

SCIENCE AND THEISM¹

BUT if a man is honestly searching for the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, can he logically be confident about the objective existence and purposes of his friends but agnostic concerning God, the true self on whom all are dependent? Logically, are we not more sure of the existence of this Being and of some, not all, of the processes and laws that govern His actions, than we are of the existence of a physical world and of our ability to communicate with our companions. Until we are sure of this Being and of the dependence of all things upon Him, can we be sure that our inferences really take us beyond the subjective? Some hesitate to rest on these conclusions. There is no flaw in the logic, but they are afraid of anthropomorphism. If God were an absentee deity, living off somewhere in the distance from us, we should be anthropomorphic in ascribing to Him laws that govern us. We should not have a vestige of evidence to base such predicates upon. But if we are His workmanship more truly than the swinging of the pendulum is the work of gravity, the case is different. Our inner life is a laboratory where His processes are revealed. Uniformity under the same conditions is tautology. We are not predicating human attributes of God, but divine attributes of man, simply affirming that man partakes of the divine nature, is made in the

¹ A pamphlet continuing the thought of IX.

image of God. This is not anthropomorphism, but theomorphism. This is scientific. How else can you have vicarious knowledge?

Just a word as to the sociological bearing of this view. You may give up the automaton theory but still believe that thought is only a function of the brain (as it surely is in some instances, in insanity for example). This leaves you with an estimate of man, as made not in the image of God but in the image of animals. Look at the loss of faith in humanity so common to-day. Almost every one is accused of having his price. The moment a workingman is old or ill or injured a dozen are ready to take his place, and he simply drops out of sight with less ado than would be made over a race-horse. The "sweating system" makes impossible the decencies of life simply because money is worth more than manhood. Look at municipal government in our large cities. How can public sentiment be changed here? We reply, only as it is seen that evolution states only a part of the truth, not the whole truth, concerning man. He is an animal, and as such comes under the laws of the animal world; his life is a struggle for existence, with survival of the fittest. But he is more. If monism is true, he is partaker of the divine nature. "Inasmuch as ye do it unto one of the least of these, ye do it unto God Himself." Only as men believe in God can they believe in humanity. "Ye believe in God, believe also in me." Man is a wonderful being. Tyndall is wrong in his quotation, "What is man that thou art mindful of him," etc. This is a mistranslation; the true idea is, "How glorious a being is man that thou art mindful of him, and the son of man, that thou visitest him. Thou hast made him only a little lower

than the angels and hast crowned him with glory and honor." Man has a reserve power never yet exhausted. James taught us that in times of temptation ideals alone are weak and propensities strong, but that effort added to ideal is more than a match for the strongest propensity; and that the amount of effort increases with the resistance. Can we be quite sure that it is not infinite. We never reach a point where we feel that we could not put forth a little more of the heroic. Is this what Paul meant when he said, "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me"? Dare you mark out your future and say, thus far and no farther? Or are you conscious of latent possibilities, of a depth to your spiritual nature that no plummet has yet sounded? Power reveals itself only in work done. Provide the right conditions and the measure of your imagination will not reach the limit of your future attainment. This is true, not merely of the individual, but of the nation. Did our fathers anticipate the present magnitude and grandeur of America? Did Washington dream just how much was potential in free institutions? Can you forecast what the middle of the twentieth century will reveal? If you believe in monism you have some basis for optimism. There is the prophecy, "We shall be changed into the same image from glory to glory." "We shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is." "Be ye therefore perfect (in process not product), even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." This is the doctrine that monism declares, "As we have borne the image of the earthy, so shall we also bear the image of the heavenly."

In affirming the dependence of nature on God we do not deny the reality of the material world nor limit

physical science. Just the reverse. Science aims at discovering the laws of nature. Theism believes that nature is God in action, a mode of operation of the infinite. But this does not tell us how God acts or what He accomplishes. This we must and can learn by observation and experiment, and such knowledge is of infinite value. Science is thinking God's thoughts after Him just as truly as when we read the scripture. Nature is the word of God—"He spake, and it was done;" science is the commentary on this revelation. The scientist is the seer or prophet who reveals to us divine laws written, some of them on tables of stone, others in letters of light, others so obscurely that without his aid we could never have known them. It is simply habit that makes nature seem less real when we think of it as dependent. The Indian considers light as a substance and the rainbow as a real arch of something solid. Tell him that all is a mere mode of motion of ether and you seem to take away the reality. Mere motion, what is that? Yet it is true all the same, and when you get used to this truth rainbows are as beautiful as ever and a thousand times more significant. So also of music. It is real in spite of the fact that science has demolished the old doctrines on this subject. Passion and love are subjective, yet they are realities, terribly serious ones, too, in human history. Imprison a burglar, sentenced to death, in your strongest dungeon, does he fear the massive masonry and iron barred windows? No, for if left to himself he would find a way of cutting through these. His great danger is the purpose of the guard. An incorruptible purpose in the jailer is to him the reality that will not yield to his art. Here is something more solid than adamant, yet it is only a mode

of mental working. Does he think spiritual things are mere shadows, dim ghosts of reality? Take a jilted lover. What is it that discourages him? Not time, nor distance, nor frost, nor burning sun, for he would go to the ends of the earth if thereby he could win. It is only a fixed idea in the lady's mind, but 't were easier to move a mountain than to overcome that prejudice. The power of money that in our age is able to overcome almost all physical obstacles and transform the whole face of nature is simply the power of human desire. Gold is not a power. In the mines it did none of these things, in the bank vault it is wholly passive. Not gold, but man's desire for it is the motor force of the age. It is a mental not a physical agency that the new century worships. Does it seem any the less real on that account? Why, then, should the whole of nature seem less real because we believe it to be a mode of God's activity?

Possibly one reason why a nature dependent on God seems unreal is because we consider mental action as merely capricious, *i. e.*, we ourselves are not yet quite personal. Note that there are at least two types everywhere recognized. A friend is approached on a certain matter. The answer often is, "If it is an affair of business we must arrange it thus; but if it is merely personal we can manage it between ourselves differently." Business and society are two different processes, yet both are mental. So also are official conduct and private life. The difference is in the conditions. A general is very careful to insist on organization in his army and on rules that often demand great personal sacrifice of his own comfort, yet in his family he leaves red tape at the door. It sometimes happens that the personal friend of a bank

president will ask for a loan. Sometimes he gets the reply, "As an officer of the bank I cannot do it; it is against the rules, but as a friend I will let you have the money out of my own private funds." Everywhere we note these two processes, and often we are puzzled to determine whether the conditions require one or the other. Even in college we have our system of administration where teachers themselves have no authority to suspend certain regulations, as for instance the "cut system." But this does not exclude the possibility of social relations with the students outside the class room without any such restrictions. If nature is dependent on God, His action there is formal, legal, official; otherwise we should never know what to anticipate. In this way nature is both reasonable and yet law-abiding. To illustrate: You do not doubt that the Constitution of the United States is relatively fixed; that it would be a very formal thing for the American nation to amend it; and yet this does not for a moment make you hesitate to ascribe its continuance from generation to generation, from week to week, to exactly that same public sentiment that in other and simpler matters, for instance, style of dress and forms of amusements, changes its mode of action radically several times a season. If you can have constitutional law on the basis of a democracy of finite beings, is it impossible to have faith in physical law on the basis of theism?

There is really a fourth step involved in communicating with friends. It begins with one's own identity; where this is lost, people cannot understand or be understood. Maintaining consciousness of identity involves a very definite thought process. We must remember our past life and connect with that recol-

lection our present experience in such a way as to view the part in the light of the whole; we must, in short, know "where we are at." In dual personality people have been most seriously embarrassed by waking into their primary consciousness but being entirely unable to locate themselves. They found themselves perhaps in a strange place; they were in a swiftly moving railroad car, but whither were they going? In what part of the world were they? There was no luggage in the seat with them? Was there on the train a trunk of theirs with necessary clothing for the night; if so, where would it be put off? Had they any money in their pockets, or any to their credit in any bank? How long had they been unconscious? How did they get where they were? Were they going through a new form of Rip Van Winkle experience? Were any of their friends still alive? If so, of course they were anxious about them. The thought of a possible explanation on the basis of dual personality may have occurred to them; if so, they might ask, Had they been guilty of crime or immoral character and was their reputation blasted? It will be seen that a thousand questions would come into a person's mind under such conditions, and one might be easily driven to the very verge of insanity when he found that many vital ones could not be answered.

Why are we not troubled in this way every morning when we awake? There is one answer, and only one. Consciousness of subject comes through consciousness of object; identity of subject only as we are able to identify our objects; unity of subject, only as we discover a unity in the world about us and our place therein. We can reckon time, we can remem-

ber the order of our own past states of consciousness, only as we make these states of consciousness parts of the great series of events taking place in the objective world. If you sleep soundly during the night you would be conscious of no lapse of time; indeed, some persons have been absolutely sure they did not sleep at all. Generally we reckon these periods in terms of the physical changes that take place in our own body. We feel rested on waking up. But these tests are very unreliable, and we correct them by identifying the objects about us and noting the changes that have taken place there. It was dark when we retired, and now the gray dawn is seen through the windows. Time is absolutely invisible. If it were a great chain with visible links all numbered, and each event hung in its proper place, we could tell by looking just what time it is. But time is not such a visible reality. We therefore have to reckon in terms of objective nature, and this brings up again the whole problem of vicarious knowledge. Under what conditions can we have physical science? Either some science or insanity. To pick up the threads of consciousness when we wake from sleep, we must first note the order of changes that take place in nature, the whole series, and the order in which the separate phases follow. We must then find out what particular phase of the process is now present and locate this properly in the whole order that has occurred, *e. g.*, if the sun moves from east to west in a continuous orbit, then its position at any given time enables us to determine how long since it rose. But if there were no path of the sun, if it were like a flash of lightning in a thunderstorm which appeared now in this quarter of the sky, now in that, you could not

determine what the previous positions had been by determining its present location, that is, you could not reckon time by it. The same of a clock. If the hands must move clear around the circle only in one direction, by locating them you can determine what has been. But if the hands were taken off and put on arbitrarily their present position would indicate nothing definite. Here, then, is the great truth. Unless we are able to go outside of our present states of consciousness and note the order of nature as it has actually occurred (or be thoroughly convinced that we do), we cannot connect our present life with our past, we cannot tell how long we have slept, we should very soon get confused as to the order of our past experiences, we could not distinguish illusions from realities, imaginations from sense perceptions; in short, we could not remain sane. More than this. If you are to live in civilization others must reckon their lives as parts of exactly the same objective nature in terms of which you have wrought out your own personal identity. When we have an appointed hour for recitation, if one man's reckoning of time did not square with the time reckoning of others, one calling the day Sunday, others Friday, etc., one March, another July, how could we keep the appointment?

To sum up our question. If all calculation is simply fitting together data gained through the senses, namely, mental phenomena, in such a way that they are made to square with our thought processes and thus conform to the laws of mind, how would it be possible by this process (*a*) to get any knowledge at all of the external world, if it were not known to be the working of exactly the same infinite mind who is working through us, and therefore governed by the

same laws? (b) How could we know the thought and intention of our friends unless they, too, were dependent on the same source and governed by the same laws? All this is saying that if we ever get outside of our present state of consciousness, that knowledge will be vicarious knowledge, and further that vicarious knowledge is an absurdity unless that which is outside is known to be uniform with that which is inside. There is absolutely no objective science, either physical or mental, unless from one, namely, the self, we can learn all. But if all are different in identity, distinct existences, there is no problem about it. It is simply impossible to have that knowledge, and there the matter ends. (c) And the same question comes up with regard to one's own personal identity, that is, his ability to connect his present experience with his past experience or to have a unity to his life. This can never be done by a dead list of memory, but only through consciousness of objects, and through our ability to determine the changes through which they pass and the place into which our life fits. This takes us right back to the possibility of objective science again. (d) If a man's life is to fit into the life of others and become a part of one social order, so that his appointments are understood and followed by his friends, if history can have any significance to him, it will be because all others date and locate themselves and their plans in the same objective science which he has made the basis of his own personal identity. How could they work in the same way in which he works, get the same results that he gets, write history that he can read, literature that fills him with inspiration, enact laws that bind his conscience, unless they were dependent on the same source for their existence

that nature and his own mind find working in themselves? (c) If we are to have a form of society which grants liberty, equality, and fraternity, it will be only on the basis of discussion. The ultimate appeal will be, not to force, but to evidence. This postulates that what is evidence to one mind is evidence to every mind when seen in connection with exactly the same data. How could you ever use the "therefore" in a syllogism unless, whether men willed it or not, they were obliged to assent to the conclusion when they had exactly your premises? They may be hasty, they may shut their eyes and refuse to see the matter at all, they may even persecute and ridicule, but you have an invincible ally in their own bosoms and they know it. They dare not allow themselves to think, for their whole nature will befriend you if you are right. When Darwin wrote "The Origin of Species," it was greeted by a storm of derision. But what cared he? His appeal was not to some outside power that might force men to believe (which faith he despised); no, he appealed from Philip drunk to Philip sober, from the thoughtless public to the thoughtful public; and when they had time to think they were simply so many Darwins themselves. They found him within their own inner life, awaiting a chance to speak out and make himself heard. That is discussion, and if it is not that, it is nothing. When you discuss with a man it is simply because you yourself are within that man's inner life. You speak to the ear and he does not hear, but you speak to the heart from within and he cannot be deaf. Discussion is simply finding yourself in another, and that is the reason why you are courteous and respectful to others when you respect yourself. Now let us suppose that this was not true, that the

same infinite self was not in all, that when men worked out their salvation it was not the same God who worked in every man. It would be absolutely inconceivable that the fourteen million separate voters who cast their ballot in the last presidential election in the United States could all think alike if they were separate and independent existences. The law of chances determined by mathematical science is wholly against it. Huxley somewhere says, "If I throw dice and they come down double sixes once, it is fortunate; if they come down double sixes twice, I am lucky; if they come down double sixes three times, it is a marvel; if they come down double sixes four times, there is no marvel about it." The dice were loaded, the whole thing was fixed from the beginning, and that problem is solved. Dice have only six faces, six possible things to do. Human life is infinitely complicated; and here is this government representing almost every nationality under the sun. How could fourteen million separate individual voters discuss for three months the extremely complicated problems of imperialism and finance with any hope whatever of any approach toward an agreement? Would not the three months' discussion simply reveal the hopelessness of such an outcome? Why, then, should the decision of the majority be accepted by the minority? Why should not each follow his own judgment and thus have anarchy? Only one answer can be given. Evidence would play no part in the matter; it would be simply a question of might. The majority would have might enough possibly to restrain the minority. But this would be a state of war instead of peace. Power always appeals to artifice and fraud and strategy for eluding it, as the Boers have done in South Africa so success-

fully for months. No, if you are to have republican institutions you must have faith in discussion; you must believe that however the presidential election is decided the question is not closed so but that it will be reopened the moment the new administration begins. It will be reviewed in the press and in Congress and in the club, and if the majority have made a mistake that mistake will be pointed out, and if they are in the right the truth will be more clear. The minority can submit when they know the justice of their cause is to be reviewed by the people, when they are convinced that the deepest, truest voice of the people is the voice of God Himself. This is arbitration, not war. This is liberty, equality, fraternity, not tyranny. This is monism, not pluralism. (f) What do we mean by freedom of the press? Not freedom to lie or to slander and misrepresent, but freedom to weigh evidence on the basis that when this is carefully done it will express the only verdict of each individual man who thinks the problem through and obtains the necessary data. The press, then, becomes the mouth-piece of every honest citizen; to muzzle it is to muzzle himself, for his deepest, truest self is really attempting to speak through the editor. If this is the spirit of the press, they may make blunders, they may be even carried away by passion, but these blunders will be reviewed and corrected; these passions will be rebuked and be a source of shame, and make the editors more careful next time. Then the only danger to the republic will be the secrecy with which error is promulgated. When once it has been made public, and openly proclaimed, if the press shall weigh the evidence, the absurdity will be exposed. Poisonous germs can thrive only in

filthy, dark, ill-ventilated rooms. Sunlight is the most powerful germicide there is. Suppression of freedom of the press will develop your secret organizations. We know not the damage they may do. But remove the censorship, bring everything to the open, weigh the evidence, and you are absolutely safe.

It is simply because men have no faith in reason, no love for the truth, that they question on the one hand the value of free discussions, and on the other hand become superstitious and servile imitators of society, asking not whether a thing is true, but whether it is good form, whether Mrs. Grundy approves. When these are the ideals of society, yellow journalism will thrive like the plague in India. There is a lack of moral sanitation, an absence of faith in humanity, when men cease to care for the truth supremely. Pluralism could have no other result, for then there could be no universal truth. Nothing would be possible for men except to imitate and become slaves. But monism clears the atmosphere of shame and reproach, falsehood and error, and gives all the dignity of God Himself to the truth. Do we not need a little monism in the public thought at the present time? Christ came to bear witness to the truth, but the coward Pilate sneered at the truth and sold himself as a slave to the bidding of the Pharisees. Which was the monist and which was the pluralist? (g) Freedom of our universities is a matter of considerable concern. It is often asked, "Has not a man a right to do what he will with his own money? If he believes in a certain creed, and is willing to give a million dollars or ten million dollars to establish an institution to teach that creed, has he not a right to do it? If he pays for it, is it not his to do with as he pleases?"

Have we not a right, then, to establish sectarian institutions? ” On the basis of pluralism, most surely, but on the basis of monism, never. Look at it a moment. Has a man a right to form his own opinion arbitrarily, or only by the weighing of evidence? Well, then, if that is his duty, if his own conclusions must be shaped so as to square with the evidence, has he a right to do anything that would lead others to form their conclusions in a different way, to prevent them from weighing evidence, and make them borrow their results like a phonograph, that is, de-personalize them and take away the divine likeness with which God has endowed them? What would you think of a man giving a sum of money to establish a court of justice where the jury were to be fixed so that they would always give a decision in favor of the particular party or particular creed that the donor believed? Would it not come fearfully near bribery, and what penalty would suggest itself as appropriate for such an attempt? There are two parts to our nature, brain paths and weighing evidence. The brain paths work along the lines of least resistance, and here force is the determining factor. But here man is only an animal. The human part of man is the power that can work in the lines of greatest resistance and square solely with evidence, and here man is in the image of God. Now whenever you substitute for evidence any form of force (and bribery is a form of force), you attempt murder, not of the body, but of the mind. You are doing what you can to do away with the spiritual and make man in the image of the beasts and birds and creeping things. Could monism justify this?

XI

DEPENDENCE; THE UNIVERSE AND GOD¹

THE followers of Lotze lay much stress on the distinction between "*dependent*" and "*independent reality*." A dependent reality is one that cannot exist in and by itself, but always requires the existence of something entirely distinct from it. On the other hand, an independent entity is self-existent, *i. e.*, depends upon nothing for its being.

Now do not make the mistake of supposing that these terms are synonyms for the "creation" and the "creator." This is, indeed, their ultimate meaning; and philosophy may show that it is their only *true* meaning, but not till it has given us a very different conception of the universe from that which the common mind entertains.

Illustrations of the common signification of these terms.

In every-day life we recognize the reality of motion; but though *in thought* we can separate it from the things that move, and devote whole text-books in science solely to the various kinds of motion, yet *in fact* we see that motion in and by itself can have no existence; it must always be a "phase," or "state," or "condition" of some *thing*. Motion is thus a *dependent* reality. The same is true of "momentum," "color," "music," "virtue," "crime," and many other things that in common speech are personified

¹ An early printed pamphlet which remained in use to the last.

into separate complete existences. We speak of the "angel of death," the "wolf of starvation," the "flight of time," and succeed in deceiving children and superstitious people into believing, not merely that these are real, but also that they are independent entities that would continue to exist in some corner of the universe were all other beings annihilated.

It seems evident that this "personifying tendency" of the human mind, this poetical consideration of dependent realities as independent entities, in short, this habit of *abstraction*, is the source of all the mythology of ancient times. Minerva came into being full grown, not from the head of Zeus, but from the head of the Greek. The gods did not create men, but men created their gods "*in their own image*," "*male and female created they them*." That tradition should affirm just the opposite, is only another illustration of the law of "extradition of consciousness," according to which we have already seen that even the earth projects its motion into the heavens, so that they and not *itself* seem to move.

Despise not the Greeks, for, in the first place, their Venus, Neptune, Apollo, and Minerva are as much objective realities to us as to them, the only difference being that we have now discovered that they are dependent entities (attributes) and thus dissolved the poetic illusion; and in the second place, in two instances we "*out-heathen*" the ancients. These are:—

1. In our common idea of money. Money is to the modern as much of a god, that is, as much of an objective independent entity as ever was Mars or Zeus. As the lower classes identified the statues of these gods with the unseen divinities themselves, and worshipped the material form, so do we suppose that

gold is money and worship it. Surely the miser is a heathen. A moment's reflection is sufficient to convince us that gold is not money nor wealth. Money draws interest, but gold does not. Money is not the gold itself, but man's *desire* for it. Money is a dependent reality, that is, an attribute of man projected out into material objects by extradition of consciousness, as is color into the landscape. If men did not desire gold it would have no more power than so much carrion. Fill a man's pockets full of gold and let him fall overboard where he can save his life only by swimming for a long time, and is the gold money any longer? If Robinson Crusoe had had an island of pure gold instead of rich pasturage for his flocks, would he have had any wealth? Money in the common conception is as much a personification as the angel of death.

2. We make a similar mistake with regard to "*law*." We conceive of the "laws of nature" as separate and independent agencies, exercising control over the winds and waves and continents. Phrases like the "reign of law," the "inviolability of law," the "discovery of a new law," mean to the readers of our popular literature, imbued with a so-called scientific spirit, very much what such phrases as the "wrath of Apollo," the "will of Zeus," the "apparition of Juno" did to the Greeks and Romans, who would miss in our literature not their mythology, but the old names for the agencies whom they worshiped. Professor Huxley and his associates have had no small task to convince the public that scientific men are not slaves to any such superstition. They teach that "law" is but the uniform mode of action of the various physical energies in nature. "Law has no power." What-

ever is done in the universe is the work, not of "law," but of the agencies that exist therein. These entities work according to their own inner nature; these uniform modes of action under given conditions are what we mean by "laws" in science.

It will be observed that there has been progress in civilization, that is, the world has relinquished superstition and attained science, just to the extent it has been able to resolve into *dependent realities* what at earlier periods in its history were recognized as *independent entities*. This, then, seems to be the law of growth in intelligence.

Illustration. (a) Light, sound, and heat were once "substances." Science took a long stride in advance by proving them to be merely "modes of motion" of some thing entirely distinct from themselves.

(b) Formerly there were many separate forces, such as electricity, chemical affinity, magnetism, gravitation, etc., but the law of "correlation of forces" resolves these into but different modes of manifestation of one and the same energy, and this is considered one of the greatest discoveries science has ever made.

QUERY. Is it not, then, a fair question to raise, whether a continuation of this same process will not ultimately force us to do for all material substances, *i. e.*, the chemical elements, precisely what we have already done for the so-called material forces? That is, discover that they are not independent existences, as the materialist claims, but phases, or states of activity, of precisely the same agency that, under other conditions, manifests itself as force.

Such a conclusion even Mr. Spencer considers necessary. But observe that in gaining this result we

have passed beyond the bounds of science into the region of philosophy, for now we perceive that not merely matter and force, but also consciousness as well, are all states of activity of one and the same original, eternal, independent agent, whom religion knows as God.

Let me just here anticipate our studies so far as to call attention to the possible extremes of view to be found in the history of human progress. The narrowest idea conceivable is that of fetichism, where each object is an entity by itself, and, in addition, all the more common attributes are personified into independent beings. The other extreme is theism (than which a broader, grander idea of the universe is impossible); it is this: God or Spirit is the only independent reality, and any other being or event is but a dependent "phase," or "state," or "product" of His activity. He is "the all in all." "In Him all things live and move and have their being." He is the Hebrew Jehovah, the "I AM," the self-existent and eternal One, who filleth immensity and inhabiteth eternity. The Ancient of Days, in terms of whose action Time itself is measured. Nature is related to God as "thought to the mind that thinks," as "music to the air that is in vibration," as "light to the ether." Nature is the "living garment of God," that is, the continued activity in which He manifests Himself. — Between these extremes would lie (1) The successive phases of Polytheism. These eventually lead to (2) Materialism, where science begins in its atomic form. The progress of science would make necessary at length (3) Dualism, or the doctrine that there are two independent entities, mind and matter; at this stage all the conflicts between science

and religion arise. But this must, sooner or later, be resolved into the last and final position of philosophy, viz., (4) Theism as above explained.

The only attempt to get beyond theism that is possible would be to deny the existence of all independent beings, and leave nothing but "phases" or "states." The absurdity of such an attempt is so apparent that we hardly need to ask what then could be meant by "*dependent realities*." [See Mill's limitations of memory.]

Note. The explanations that follow are not intended for an argument. Philosophy is often ridiculed by common sense for its conception of the external world. It is, therefore, no more than fair that we ask common sense to state in terms that are not contradictory its view of nature. We will allow it to make any assumptions, provided these do not involve contradiction. We simply insist that a contradiction shall never be dignified by the term *mystery*. It may turn out that common sense itself will be glad to sit at the feet of philosophy and receive instruction.

I. Common sense already has learned to admit that, (a) The *order* and *beauty* in nature have no existence apart from those material things whose form and arrangement it admires so much; these, therefore, are confessedly *dependent realities*.

(b) With greater reluctance it acknowledges the same respecting the "*laws*," not merely of nature, but also of society and government.

(c) Science has slowly forced it to concede the *dependent* reality of the myriads of material substances that to the senses seem so complete in themselves, and so distinct, *e. g.*, many of our drugs and organic substances differ not in the elements of which they are

composed, oxygen, hydrogen, carbon and nitrogen, but in the *way in which they are combined, i. e., the relationship* these sustain to each other.

(d) The question has often been raised as to whether the chemical elements are really distinct substances, *i. e.*, whether further progress in science will not resolve these as different forms of one substance. Assume one infinite, perfectly frictionless fluid, and Sir Wm. Thompson has demonstrated that vortex rings in this fluid, infinitesimal in size and infinite in number, would be perfectly adequate to explain all the phenomena of chemistry and physics. I do not desire to make any further use of this than to show that it is a fair question to raise as to whether some time science may not conclude that the atom is not an independent entity, but a phase or mode of action of something else. That is, that science should demand the same change in our conception of matter that it has already forced us to concerning "*light*," "*heat*," and "*sound*." Observe, that should this time ever come, the material world will be as real to the scientists of that time as it is to those who now believe in atoms, *but a very different kind of reality*. The first exclamation of common sense is that we are destroying the universe, annihilating matter. So says the savage when you deny that the rainbow is a solid arch of material called light, but the statement is true, and yet rainbows are not blotted out of nature for all that. Or you say you cannot conceive of that "something" of which atoms are to be considered only states or phases, therefore you reject the idea. Well, why do you not reject for the same reason the doctrine of "correlation of forces," since you cannot conceive of that primitive energy of which heat and light and

electricity and all other forces are modes of manifestation?

II. Leaving the above as a mere suggestion, I now ask common sense to tell what it means by the external material world? I demand that since it uses the word *matter* so often it shall now examine its statements and see if it uses the term consistently.

III. Common sense overthrows the belief in witchcraft and ghosts by this one short maxim: "Concerning that of which we have no evidence, and concerning that which does not exist, we must deal in the same way."

IV. If common sense, therefore, can furnish no evidence whatever for the existence of matter, then she contradicts her previous position with regard to ghosts.

V. It is no task to compel common sense to admit that our only evidence of the external world is gained through the senses. Wherever and whenever the senses are used with utmost care, and no impression is made upon them directly or indirectly from the outside, we there have no evidence of the existence of anything outside. In short, we say, "*there is nothing there.*"

VI. Now it is equally clear that the only thing the senses can ever give us evidence of is "*force.*" Only "power," "force" can make an impression on the senses. Matter may exist, but mere existence does not enable us to perceive it. Matter must do something, exert some energy, or we can experience no sensation, *e. g.*, no effects, but it will always be the force and not the matter that is the immediate cause of our impressions. Assuming, then, that our sensations are not *subjective* [and for common sense it is a

mere assumption (conviction)], has common sense a right to assume the existence of anything more than the existence of force acting from certain centres? This is our problem. Hear what Huxley says of this old theory of Boscovich, *viz.*, that the atom is only a centre of force: "Thus the soul becomes a centre of force. But, at the same time, the distinction between spirit and matter vanishes; inasmuch as matter, according to a tenable hypothesis, may be nothing but a multitude of centres of force."

VII. In dealing with this problem two positions only may be attempted: (1) That force is not an independent entity, but an "*attribute*" of the atom. (2) That force is an entity in itself.

1. The first position is the only tenable ground to take if you are to believe in matter at all. Try to hold that matter and force are each independent, self-existent entities, that force abides in the atom as the soul dwells in the body, and we have these difficulties, (a) Then force is competent to exist apart from the atom and *must do so when it is communicated from one atom to another*. Like soul leaving one body and going to another, in the mean time it is disembodied. (b) If force can exist, even for a very short time, apart from the atom, that is, if no contradiction is involved in the supposition [and we are bound to make it if we hold that one atom acts and reacts on another, *i. e.*, imparts force to the other], then what evidence have we that there is any matter at all? To illustrate, suppose there was nothing perceivable by our senses when we go about in the world save the work of minds, pure and simple, *viz.*, thoughts, ideas, emotions, volitions; that is, that we perceived these directly instead of their natural effects, in short, that our condition was

that of a spiritualistic medium in a trance. Then we need no other cause to account for our experiences save the objective existence of minds or spirits, and as these can, by hypothesis, exist disembodied, what evidence should we then have that those communicating with us had any bodies? Now force is the only immediate cause of our sensation, and if force can exist at all apart from matter, how know that it ever exists in matter? Just make the attempt to define matter, and you will see that only two ideas can possibly be crowded into the conception, *viz.*, geometrical extension [which is merely space] and “*resistance*,” or “*impenetrability*,” *i. e.*, some power of force; that is, matter equals a centre of force.

2. Therefore to have any evidence of the existence of matter at all, we are compelled to deny the existence of force as an independent entity, and make it a mere attribute or phase or state of matter. With this view common sense seems pretty well pleased, but is it a consistent position?

The one fact in the universe that common sense can never deny is the *causal relation*, the action and reaction of all atoms on each other. To deny this is for common sense to commit suicide, since common sense experience (the ledger experience) is possible only as sense perception is dated and located objectively by aid of the *conviction* of the causal relation in its three-fold form, of which Reciprocity, or action and reaction, is the most important. We make the following points:

(a) A dependent reality can never exist apart from the being or entity on which it depends, *i. e.*, motion can never exist apart from the thing moving. In thought we separate them, but this is an act of abstrac-

tion; in fact, motion is the thing itself changing its place. Of course a thing can never be separated from itself.

(b) The same is true of every attribute. Take form, for example. Form has no existence apart from the thing to which it belongs. You cannot take the form off of this table and carry it to the cabinet-maker's and put it on another table, as you take a coat off one man and put it on another. You may have another table of *like* form, but "like" is not "identical;" if so, a forgery, when accurate, is the *genuine signature*.

(c) If force is an attribute of matter, then *it is inseparable from the individual atom to which it belongs*. That is, as motion is only a short-hand expression for "thing changing its place," so force is only a short-hand expression for "atom doing something." *The atom is the agent*; force is the mere name for *the atom in action*, as soldier is a name for "a man fighting" in the army. We say of a man, "*he has the soldier in him*," and of the atom, "*it has force in it*," but we use poetic personification.

(d) Now with the exact meaning given above, we see that it is a contradiction to say that one atom imparts force to another. Can we take the "*soldier*" out of one man and carry it over and put it into another, as we take a dollar out of our pocket-book and put it into our neighbor's? The savage used to think so. For him to kill a chief was for him to take the bravery out of him, and possess it himself. So to kill a lion was to become a lion, and for that reason he was "*lionized*." But we now know that this is the language of mere abstraction that lies at the basis of all mythology and all superstition. We see it in the

savage respecting bravery, but we do not recognize precisely the same thing in ourselves, when we affirm that force is "merely the atom acting," and then talk about the "atom imparting force to other atoms." What would this mean, save that the atom loses its identity and yet maintains it at the same time? Is such a phrase a statement of a mystery, or is it simply inconsistent?

This point is so important that we must fully realize it. The doctrine affirms that it is a contradiction of the boldest kind to affirm that two *separate, independent* entities can act on each other, or in any way produce effects in each other.

(1) A thing is always identical with itself so long as it exists.

(2) If force is an attribute of a thing or atom, force is not the agent, but a name for the atom in a certain state of activity.

(3) Till a thing can lose its identity, its activity must be confined to itself; this is only saying that its identity is its own, and that its states can never be separated from it.

Illustration. Consciousness is an attribute of the mind, of *my* mind. Where can this identical consciousness I call *mine* exist? No one hesitates to reply: Only in *my mind*; we all have long recognized that consciousness in one mind can never be imparted to another. Were it not for this, the "peace of God that passeth understanding" might be transferred from the saints to the most hardened sinner, or we might transfer our consciousness to the dead and make them feel our sorrow. Even common sense that makes consciousness an attribute not of mind but of nerve, and believes that the hand itself is conscious, would never

admit that I could bring my hand so closely in contact with the table as to impart consciousness to the dead wood of which it is made. But what is true of this attribute is true of all others, provided they are really attributes. Therefore it follows that if force is merely an attribute of the atom, then one atom can never produce changes in another, that is, impart force to another.

But if this is true, then all atoms outside ourselves can never give us any evidence of their existence, since they cannot act on us, *i. e.*, can give us no impression. Hence common sense has as much ground for believing in ghosts and witches as in an external material world.

We may sum up this discussion in the following propositions:—

1. A body can act only when it is. Before it comes into being it can do nothing. After it passes out of being it can do nothing.

2. While a body exists, it can act only where it is, since the action is merely a phase or state or condition in which it exists, that is, an attribute of it.

3. Two atoms separated by a distance, therefore, cannot act and react on each other, since each is not *where* the other is.

4. Two atoms in spatial contact are still separated by a mathematical plane, *i. e.*, each still preserves its identity, therefore the action of one is entirely uninfluenced by the other.

5. The same is true could the atoms occupy the same space at the same time if they still preserve their identity. To illustrate: Were time and space each conscious, the fact that time pervades all space would not enable its consciousness to be communicated to

the latter, any more than God can communicate His omniscience to man.

6. It is, therefore, true that the atom cannot be an independent entity: but all atoms must be phases or states of some one self-existent, independent being. For the phases or states of one substance must mutually determine each other, and *this is the only condition conceivable on which there can be action and reaction*. For example, if we have but one ocean, then a wave here must produce a depression elsewhere and thus affect all other waves, but not if the oceans are entirely distinct. If we have *one* equation in algebra, to change the value of "*x*" will be to affect the value of all the other terms, which would not be true if they belonged to entirely distinct equations.

7. It is, therefore, a contradiction to speak of more than one substance in *one* UNI-verse. The unity of the universe is the unity of the series of states and phases (actions) that mutually determine each other. Therefore, when we say the sun attracts the earth, we mean no more than when we say in grammar that *the subject of a sentence governs the predicate*. If words are separate independent entities they have no relation to each other at all. But words are expressions of thought, and thoughts are states of the consciousness of *one* mind, and so mutually determine each other. Therefore the above rule in grammar must not mean that the "subject word" governs the "predicate word," but that the mind that expresses itself thus in the subject is required by consistency to modify its utterance accordingly in the predicate. By the sun we understand that particular constant exercise of power by the universal substance. We say that it attracts the earth, meaning that this exertion of power requires

a corresponding expression of energy through the entire series of actions of the same substance, the earth being simply one of them.

8. Now, what is this substance of which all atoms are phases? If we appeal to our sense-inferences we should affirm that it was material force. The senses give no evidence of the existence of anything else. But what is material force? Is it subject to the limitations of space as are our phenomena? Does it take time for the sun to attract the earth as it does for light to come to us from the north star? Can you limit force as you do phenomena, so that no two forces can occupy the same place at the same time? — When the disciples were in the upper room for fear of the Jews, the door being shut and made fast, Christ was in their midst. How did He get in? But when we are in this room with all the doors and windows closed, is not Gravitation in our midst? And could we bury ourselves in the centre of the earth, should we escape it there? Has not this so-called “material force” very many of the essential attributes of *spirit*? Cannot we say of Gravitation as the Hebrew Psalmist says of God: “Whither shall I flee from thy presence? If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there; if I make my bed in hell, behold, thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea; even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me.

“If I say, Surely the darkness shall cover me; even the night shall be light about me. Yea, the darkness hideth not from thee; but the night shineth as the day; the darkness and the light are both alike to thee.”

When the President preached his sermon from the text, “Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and

one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father," he began by saying, "Christ does not contradict science, but supplements it." Science says, "Not a sparrow falleth without Gravitation." Christ replies, "Quite true, O Science, but what do you understand by Gravitation? Now since you are silent and evidently do not know, I will tell you. *It is your Father.*" Spirit is the only substance in the universe, and material force is one mode of its manifestation and constant activity.

9. How can we know more of this spirit? We answer, that since the entire universe is dependent upon it, we who are a part of the universe, like it, live and move and have our being in it [Him]. If we try to study its [His] mode of action outside ourselves we can only use the senses and obtain *phenomena*. But if we look within, we have the real noumenal spirit revealed in our own consciousness. And as the mathematician studies the very nature of space in the laboratory of his own room, and, having determined its geometry, says, these are the laws of space among the fixed stars, since space is one and the same there as here; so we may study the nature of spirit within the laboratory of our own consciousness and, having thus learned its noumenal laws, find that we have discovered the laws of action of the external world, since there can be but one and the same spirit there also. It is in this way we know *noumenally* that the laws (not habits) of thought are also the laws of things. *Both thought and things must be phases of one and the same Universal Spirit.*

THE PRINCIPLES OF LIVING

XII

THE WILL AND THE SENTIMENTS ¹

USING the term "will" in its popular signification, we include such mental experiences as are indicated by the words "choice" or "decision." Oftentimes "preference" or "desire" are considered synonyms; again, these are discriminated from acts of will.

By whatever name such experiences are called, there is no one to whom they are not familiar. A careful study of these processes will be facilitated by a somewhat general and popular introduction, surveying these acts as a whole and in their relationship to each other.

The first point to be noticed is the parallelism between these experiences and some cases of dual personality. This may be only superficial, but it is instructive to notice that an act of choice may be potent in shaping our lives, and yet, for the time being, be completely out of consciousness. It is as though some other self controlled us and acted our part, using us as instruments. In hypnotism, the suggestion given during the trance state will most frequently be executed after the person awakes and is supposed to be entirely in his normal condition. When the proper time comes, no matter what subject occupies his atten-

¹ Selected from pamphlets on Volition, Compare, also, the address on "The Training of a Boy," in Part II.

tion, he suddenly reverts to the deed he has been ordered to do and executes it, often without hesitation. If asked why he did it, he never thinks of assigning as the cause the hypnotic command, but assumes full responsibility, however embarrassing it may be. This is often used as an argument against freedom of the will. It is claimed that the consciousness of responsibility is as clear in this case as in any that we ever have.

I do not care to estimate the value of this argument, but simply to call attention to the fact that in certain cases, at least, there are processes outside of consciousness by which experiences in consciousness are determined.

That normal decisions often assume this condition is evident from the following. When we have once made up our mind to a certain course of life, the decision does not have to be continually emphasized by attention. A student does not affirm every morning as he begins the day that he has decided to pursue a liberal course of study and therefore must attend recitation; that he is going to be an attorney at law, therefore such lectures cannot be missed. Neither on a journey do we continually remind ourselves every time the train stops that we are going to New York and therefore must not get off at intermediate places. In some way the great decision of will sinks into unconsciousness, but it may be then as potent in controlling our life as though it were the object of our immediate thought.

Take so simple an act as reading the newspapers. Notice that each man selects those items which fall in with his choice of profession. The soldier in the regular army somehow catches the little paragraphs

concerning the death or transference of even subordinate officers; the business man finds the most conspicuous thing on the page is the market quotations; the student of literature is not aware that the paper contains any information about either of these facts, but is quick to notice the reviews of new books or magazine articles; while the politician will busy himself in reports of campaign oratory, never once thinking that he is at all different in his tastes from his neighbor the poet or the soldier. As the sun and the moon, when they are below the horizon, are potent to create the spring tides, so is a decision when it is below the threshold of consciousness.

All choices are not equally comprehensive; some require more, others fewer actions to realize them. We shall find a sort of military system of rank and authority in these apparently separate choices; let us examine them one by one.

First, governing purposes. What does a purpose govern? Clearly, the means which are necessary for its fulfillment so far as the individual can control them. When a man has formed a purpose to take a foreign trip the matter does not end there, any more than did Cæsar's crossing the Rubicon. In a small way the event is as truly an epoch-making one as that historic deed. The decision governs, governs with absolute necessity even the smallest affairs in its line. Suppose that I am standing on a railroad platform and the train is the last train by which I can possibly reach the steamer, the very last steamer that will take me to Europe in time to attend a certain convention or congress; suppose I am standing on the platform at the station and realize all this and hold firmly to my decision, my question is, Do I have any freedom

of the will whatever with regard to the taking of that train, or is that act like the act of a private soldier completely under the control of a sovereign. Make a test case out of this illustration. Of course, if I am not aware that this is the train, or if I am absorbed in some other matter and do not notice that the time for its departure is at hand, I can stand there and let it go. But then, you have not tested the problem; you simply have affirmed that I am not omniscient.

A captain does not govern his soldiers without the knowledge on their part of his commands. Knowledge is an essential factor in all government except that of the physical world. Suppose the man knows, fully realizes, that this is the last train, and, at the same time, clings to his first decision, is it possible, physically or metaphysically, for him not to get aboard that train if it is within his power? Try to prevent him and see. A governing purpose governs. Without deciding the question of freedom of the will in making this purpose or in changing it, we can affirm there is no freedom of the will with regard to subordinate actions.

It is common to look at life in an economic way and to consider each deed on its own merits. From that point of view it is affirmed that a man can reform from evil practices as easily as he can turn his hand over. But if we clearly realize what a decision means we shall see that the change of a very simple act may be possible only on condition that a very profound governing purpose can be removed, which would be harder to accomplish than to move a mountain into the sea.

Of course it often happens that little acts are really trivial. But what does this mean? Not that they

are not related to a "governing purpose," but that there are several ways for the execution of that purpose. Some one is essential, but others will do as well. On my journey to New York I surely need a seat in the car if I am to be physically able to meet my engagements when I arrive. Which seat, however, is, so far as this one matter is considered, trivial. Yet even here the governing purpose must be consulted. One car is crowded, another is more elegant and has many places vacant. Of course I can take any of these. No, that car does not go through; it will be switched off when I am not aware of it. This is a late train, and I am likely to drop asleep, therefore the risk cannot be taken. It will be easily seen that there is not an event in our life concerning which we do not have to decide whether our governing purposes will permit it, before we are free to act. The decision may be hasty and superficial, but cognition does not mean infallibility, only conviction.

It will be noticed that as the subordinate act is controlled by a governing purpose, this purpose itself has a superior military commander to whom or which it is so responsible that no freedom whatever can be possessed by it.

It will be found that there are only two commanders-in-chief and that all our thoughtful actions report to one of these through whatever course of governing purposes. It will be perceived that these supreme choices cannot both govern action; if there is freedom it is here alone, it is solely in the decision whether righteousness or selfishness shall be our supreme aim in existence.

This is the doctrine of a new birth in Scripture. The claim is that no man ever does a deed without a

motive. In a given instance the obvious motive is either itself a supreme motive and thus we have discovered the ultimate aim; or it is a secondary purpose, subordinate to some other choice which in turn is subordinate to a third, and so on till it comes to the ultimate. It is this act of sovereignty of the supreme choice which gives unity to our life. This is only another form of saying that all intelligence works backward; that a man must have an end in view in every intelligent action, and the end must sooner or later imply an ultimate end. The doctrine of the Scripture is that "Ye must be born again." That is, if the man's supreme choice is bad he cannot be changed by halves. There is no change that is radical that does not change the supreme choice.

Now let us notice some of the methods of reform. Let us take a dishonest man whose sole aim is money and let us put him into a community where he can do nothing unless he wins the confidence of the people, and let us suppose that the people give their confidence most readily to a religious man. In short, this is his only certainty of not being found out in his defalcations. Is this man really religious because he joins the church and leads the Sunday school? Do you not need to go a little deeper and change his supreme choice? That is the doctrine of the Scripture when it says, "Ye must be born again." Christ puts it in another phrase when he says, "The tree is known by its fruits; men do not gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles." That is, make the tree good and the fruit will be good of itself; make the tree evil and the fruit will necessarily be evil. We interpret it to mean just the reverse, that a tree is made, not known, by its fruits. Therefore, we think if we can only get

by change of environment certain external deeds that are wise, then we have reformed the individual. This method of reform is undoubtedly a negative change which prevents certain progress of evil habits, but does it make a person good? Is it possible by holding out punishment as an inducement to make a selfish man unselfish in heart? Is not his external deed, his external obedience, simply the surest way of realizing his selfishness? At Christmas time we are wont to relapse into the mythological age. We take a tree of any convenient form into our parlors out of the cold, and then proceed to wire on various adornments and fruits, and, thereby, to a child's fancy, transform its character into whatever we please. It seems to me there is a great deal of Christmas-tree Christianity at the present time. We take men whose hearts are unchanged, and by external agencies we wire on a certain amount of reform, a certain number of prayer-meetings per week, a certain amount of courtesy, a certain amount of honesty, and then we publish statistics of the wonderful achievements which we have secured. Is this Christianity, or is it Pharisaism which polished the exterior of the sepulchre like to a palace, but within it was a sepulchre all the same?

When a decision has actually been made, when the Rubicon has been crossed, the world is not quite as it was before and we are different. Not merely in the fact that we have an end in view, but that certain feelings arise, certain estimates of value are put on things which could not otherwise have existed. These feelings or estimates are called in popular language sentiments. Our proposition is that a sentiment has strength in proportion to the importance of the choice. Let us illustrate: When a man has purchased a

piece of ground, has invested in it his property, the knowledge that what happens to it affects him, produces a feeling of ownership which means, not merely that he owns it, but also that it owns him; he is no longer free as he was before. The plan of the city government for laying out new streets was a matter that he could pass by without any anxiety; now its action is not indifferent to him. If his influence, if his conduct of affairs, can change the direction of these streets, he finds it impossible to let the course of events go on without meddling, whereas a few months before he could easily have washed his hands of the whole matter and gone off on a vacation. Our property owns us, and we might just as well acknowledge our master. Such a knowledge produces the feeling called *sentiment*.

The same is true when a man has chosen his political party or his country; disaster to party or country is misfortune to him in the eyes of himself and his neighbors. New demands are made upon him which, otherwise, he could have easily avoided. When a man has invested his life in a profession, mastery of its details is essential to recognition and success, and in some way the current of his thinking is deflected from earlier channels and absorbed with technical details and books which once would have had no interest. The profession is his master; it is a life and death matter. Consciousness of this creates peculiar feelings which could not have existed had he not decided upon this end in life.

Now we can formulate our proposition. *An act of decision is an investment in the object or end chosen.* Henceforth life and welfare are bound up in it; we are not our own, but its. This produces the feeling of

ownership in proportion to the amount of investment. Consciousness of ownership in turn is a bias of attention, and so controls our thinking that under the law of ideo-motor action our entire physical being will be different from what it would have been had the choice not been made.

Notice how, as time goes on, the countenance of the lawyer or the physician differs from that of the day-laborer or sailor, and yet these men, playmates in youth, then looked so nearly alike that strangers could hardly tell them apart.

We understand now the meaning of Scripture when it says, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal." This is the ordinary way of quoting this passage, and we are led to infer that the reason for avoiding earthly treasures is because they are liable to take wing and fly away. Therefore, for prudence' sake we should not risk too much. But such was not the meaning of Christ. He adds, "For where your treasure is, there your heart [your sentiment, your thought] will be also." The treasure is the end or object of our choice. If we live for earthly things, then these thoughts drive out all others and ideo-motor action makes us of the earth, earthy. But if we choose heavenly things, the divine ideal of manliness and honor, we become conscious of ownership by such a master, our endeavors are identified with such a cause, and thoughts on such subjects so fill our minds as to drive out everything base and mean and earthy; ideo-motor action stamps such a likeness upon our countenance. Therefore wherever and whatever your treasure [end] is, you yourself will be, and it is simply a choice of which world you will live in now.

Religion is a matter of character, of apperceptive mass, which is to the mind what physical health is to the body — only infinitely more, for this apperceptive mass determines what our known world shall be.

Sentiment, if sufficiently comprehensive, is called the heart. In the moral as opposed to the popular point of view a heartless individual is not necessarily an unsympathetic person. Nero was naturally so sympathetic that when he was first called upon as emperor to sign a death warrant, he regretted that he had ever learned to write, since now by the stroke of his pen a human being would lose his life. Yet we are not accustomed to think of Nero as a man having a heart. The phrase “good-hearted fellow” often means simply superficial sympathy, quickness to respond to our assistance, what James calls “explosive will.” This is a constitutional endowment. It often renders persons of very depraved character agreeable companions for a time, when the environment does not tempt them to any act of real baseness. As years go by the “real heart” gradually inhibits the native loveliness in the vicious. Constitutional sympathies must be greatly repressed by opposing or developed by favoring sentiments.

Sentiments can be changed, but never directly, only by changing our investment. It often happens that selfish individuals are greatly embarrassed by their strong bias and passion, and they would be willing to pay a large price for deliverance from these unpleasant consequences. That is, they want to retain their investment in self, but they would like to be free from the strength of sentiment, from the manners and habits which this produces. This is just as impossible as it is to have a line curved on the inside and

straight on the outside. Sentiment and investment are inseparably connected.

The element of time introduces what seems to be a contradiction. The investment may reach its full strength at once, the sentiment is a gradual growth; it involves a realization of all that is implied in the investment, and this cannot be attained except by time. The result is that a man often approaches a paradoxical condition. Suppose that he has been narrow and selfish for forty years and then passes through a crisis in his life, barely escapes committing murder through accident, so that it is no credit to him. He becomes so alarmed that he determines to change, and really, squarely, makes a new supreme choice. The question is, Will he be free himself at once from the old sentiment and habits? May we not illustrate his condition by the railroad train? Call the choice the throttle valve and the sentiment the momentum of the train. In the case of a selfish man it will be momentum on the down grade. When the engineer reverses the throttle, does the train stop instantly, or reverse its momentum? No, a power has been introduced that will arrest the downward motion and will even get up a fair measure of speed in the opposite direction, but it will require sufficient time and be at the cost of a terrible struggle, a prodigious effort. Read the last verses of the seventh chapter of the Romans and see if this is not exactly the biography of Paul.

Many people who have lived lives of degradation, like John B. Gough, when they try to reform find themselves in their thoughtless moments yielding to old habits and old feelings. So they profess one thing and in thoughtless moments do another; the critic looks on and cries, "Hypocrite." But this is

not a profound scientific view. The Scriptures call it a new birth, laying emphasis on the fact that at birth the infant is simply beginning to live and has not attained the stature and strength of man. The new life has all the weaknesses of infancy. The figure of crucifixion is often used. It has been pointed out that when the criminal was nailed to the cross he was not dead, he was not even mortally wounded; he might live for days and recover if taken down; he only gradually wore out his strength by suffering. This is true of the old nature of habit; when a man tries to reform, it is there in full strength, struggling violently, and it can only be worn out and made weaker till at length it ceases to be.

Let us examine in particular some of the different investments that are made. The most common, one with which you are familiar, is that of class feeling. The pride which you take in your class may indeed be justified by the character and achievements of its members, but all that is a second thought; primarily, class feeling in college depends largely upon one thing, that is, membership in that class. If you had come to college a year earlier or stayed out a year later this class would have been strangers to you; you would have invested your college life in another. The same is true of your society relations; the emphasis is on "your." Much as you may admire other societies, they are not yours; your investment, the identifying of yourself with this society so that honor to the society is your honor, and criticism of the society is a reproach on you, is the primal basis of that fraternity feeling which at times can run so high. You will clearly recognize that party spirit is not a personal acquaintance or mutual admiration of the society members. There

may be the severest criticism upon individuals in your party without tempting you to renounce that party; a man is a Republican when once he has identified himself with that organization and mode of political activity, whether he likes or antagonizes the leaders; this will explain the hold of a boss. He knows that if he can only capture the organization he can hold the following, if they are partisans; that is, if party investments are supreme governing purposes. The Independent or Mugwump is wont to invest in a party only provisionally, as one takes passage on a steamboat—a means to an end; his supreme investment is his country. Blaine said the partisan's maxim is, "My party always right, but right or wrong my party." The patriot's maxim is, "The welfare of my country first, last, always," and he coöperates with those organizations which in his own judgment will best secure this. Or to put it in the language of President Hayes, "He serves his party best who serves best his country, for party is a means and not an end."

We maintained some time ago that freedom of will could be only in the supreme choice, that the different governing purposes are subordinate to this and to each other, analogous to the military commanders in an army. This leads to the question, Is it possible for us always to determine in advance the grade which a subordinate choice shall occupy? Can a man feel concerning the comrades whom he selects or the business to which he devotes himself that it will always have the relative importance that he now attributes to it, or is it a matter which depends upon the environment? This is a matter of great importance to many a man as he starts out in life; it is the turning-point of tragedy in many a character in literature. Let me

illustrate my meaning. In the recent expeditions to Cuba old steamboats have been purchased and very valuable cargoes of arms and explosives have been shipped stealthily. The steamboat was worth comparatively little; the cargo, according to a Cuban's value of it, was worth everything. Such is the ratio of the investment. But now suppose that a hurricane comes up and the ship begins to leak, and it is apparent that it cannot endure the weather; if the ship goes down the cargo is surely lost, and human life in addition. If the cargo can be thrown overboard life may be saved for another and more successful attempt, and so the relative importance of ship and cargo have suddenly changed places; the latter is given up to save the ship.

In politics it sometimes happens that there is warmest allegiance to a certain boss, personal loyalty which has in it almost a touch of mediæval knight-hood; but when a change takes place and the boss begins to lose his hold, rather than die with him, thousands of his followers save themselves by deserting him. Here we have before us the great problem of life. Righteousness can never change. If a leader has allied himself with righteousness, there will never come a time when honor can be saved by going back on him. Therefore such relationships are constant; but if selfishness is the supreme choice, it is beyond the control of any individual to decide whether he will or not play traitor at some time in the future.

This question is one of supreme interest to us in the family relation. If we look over society at the present day we find that many of the old ideas concerning marriage are changing. Much of the literature at the present day is strongly colored by French standards

of practical life. It is clear that family life is not always a happy one, and the emancipation of the unfortunate is ever a popular theme. Let us apply the principles that we have just enumerated and see how the problem can be formulated. It has been said that the "corner-stone of the nation is the hearth-stone." Napoleon is quoted as saying that the great need of France was homes. What is the foundation of the home?

Three views are possible: First, that the family relation depends simply on constitutional likes and dislikes, and secondly, that it depends wholly upon sentiments. The first view would be that we fall in love, the second that we make love. According to the first view, man and woman should be fitted for each other by nature; in no other way can their lives ever blend. What God hath joined together let not man put asunder, but what man hath joined together can never be sacred. Some matches are made in heaven, and others elsewhere. The latter view claims that all depends upon the investment. Let us see what the consequences of each position would amount to. The first would claim that harmony in the home was determined solely by a constitutional adjustment akin to the harmony we have in music, and that it is useless for any effort or decree to interfere with this relationship. Therefore, divorce should be granted at once when it can be proved that a mistake has been made. On the other hand, if marriage is a contract there is never excuse for divorce. This is the custom of the Catholic Church, and we are deeply indebted to it for its influence in the direction of the home. If husband and wife do not love each other, then let them make love; if they refuse, the responsibility is upon them and

not a misfortune which should excite our sympathy. But what is the logic of this position? In marriage it would be possible for any two persons to live happily together if there were only sufficient investment. All literature and all life rebel against the idea.

The third view unites these two positions. It claims that we both fall in love and that we make love. Marriage is a contract; marriage is also an inspiration which we cannot resist. From this point of view it will be seen that mistakes may arise, misunderstandings may lead to a compact where the compact cannot be carried out. On the other hand, a happy home would involve constitutional adjustment strengthened by sentiment. It is clear that the sentiment is in proportion to the amount of investment, therefore there never can be the highest sentiment unless marriage is for life. No two persons are so perfectly adjusted to each other that they are able to live without some discord; there are differences of temper and of tastes which would amount to little at long range, but in the closeness of home life they become intolerable. In gravitation we have an infinite increase in strength, as bodies approach each other, but somehow there develops somewhere resistance to such an extent that it is claimed that, in the closest chemical molecule atoms never really come in contact. There is an exclusive element in personality which becomes irresistible with short range, and little discrepancies become terribly serious in the home. Now we need the strongest sentiment in order to inhibit these feelings. As the soldier can be so absorbed in his duty as to be unconscious of a wound, so people may be so biased by sentiment as actually to fail to notice extremely unpleasant differences. Blackstone used to say that

the only way husband and wife can live together happily is to know that they have got to. But this is only saying that the investment must be primal for life, instead of provisional. If this third view is true, several conclusions follow. As the instincts ripen at very different periods in life, there is a best time for marriage; a time when habits of adjustment can be grafted on to instincts, when men and women can become complemental even if by nature they are not quite in tune. Let this time pass and it becomes impossible for them to accommodate themselves to each other. This is a strong argument in favor of early marriages. Husband and wife become alike and resemble each other even in physical features. It is to be deeply regretted that the social demands of the present day lead young men to put off home life until their constitutional peculiarities are set. Also love too early may vaccinate against true marriage devotion, may give us flirtation and sentimentality, but not true love for life.

In addition to this there is another great fact. Home can never be a supreme choice; it should extend very near it, but it never can involve the ultimate. It is possible for us to make it a very subordinate choice, and to that extent sentiment is diminished. Young men who start out in life with high aims but find the struggle for existence hard and the victory deferred often make reputation and wealth of more importance than home life. They marry late. Their social relations are already established. It is necessary to let club life and boon companionship interfere with domestic duties. How large the interference may become is a matter which cannot be anticipated in advance. When the hurricane of politics, reverses,

financial disasters are upon the man, he may throw overboard everything which beforehand he has considered sacred.

Our supreme choices determine our sentiments; our likes and dislikes, our constitutional feelings, may be akin, but if the sentiments differ these will be more or less inhibited and we shall drift apart. The old phrases, "A man is known by the company he keeps," and "Birds of a feather flock together," have for their foundation this psychological principle—that ideas are intolerant of each other. Each idea demands our entire personality; or if some antagonistic thought presents itself to our mind it is resisted by every agency at our command, for we know that to listen to this thought is to drive out all others that are hostile to it. It is an act of self-preservation, for ideas have to struggle for existence just as truly as animals do, but our likes and dislikes determine the ideas. It follows, then, that when two persons with opposite sentiments associate together one of two things will take place: either the character of the one will be moulded to that of the other or they will find they have nothing in common and so drift apart. What the one likes the other hates. Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh; the conversation of the one exasperates the other. How can they walk together? It will be seen that the strongest conflicts that have ever occurred have been due to the antagonism of ideas and feelings. Now we take one step in advance and say those whose supreme choice is selfishness are dependent solely on the environment. At any moment a high governing purpose may be subordinated to a lower, when the environment requires it. Therefore no permanent friendship is possible on this basis.

Train robbers are hand and glove with each other in holding up the train, true as steel in supporting each other; but when it comes to sharing the plunder, then their ideas antagonize, and over and over again they have come to open separation. If a man's supreme choice is selfishness, his friendship cannot be depended upon. The world is broken up into cliques, and these are continually falling apart. But if a man's supreme choice is righteousness, since right can never change it follows that there will be growing constancy regardless of the environment. On this basis there can be permanent friendship.

Now heaven is possible only among those whose supreme choice is noble. But it is obvious that our God is to the wicked a consuming fire. A base man in the presence of a noble woman feels very uncomfortable; her presence forces into his mind thoughts which antagonize his baseness and there is a conflict and conflagration within. To stand in the presence of an infinite Jehovah, to be forced to think of His perfect righteousness, is to experience the strongest antagonism to our own selfishness, and almost any place in the universe would be preferred to His presence. It will be noted that in the Scripture Dives and Lazarus are represented as being in two different worlds and yet as so near together that they can converse freely. Is not the meaning that these two worlds are two different characters? Is not the gulf which separates them so great that the one cannot render assistance to the other?

Now if this law provides for the world to come, it provides for the earth, and especially for the family. Can there be permanent friendship between husband and wife if the character is not righteous?

The point I want to emphasize is that in deciding the supreme choice we decide a thousand other things that have not yet been thought of; that we cannot depend on the future, for the environment will change; we can depend, therefore, solely upon the right. He who builds on anything else builds his house upon the sand.

XIII

PLEASURE OR RIGHTEOUSNESS¹

LET us test Mr. Spencer's criticism of Carlyle's doctrine of blessedness by using the same argument on another subject. Suppose a being from the spirit world, one who had never lived a mortal life, should visit the earth on a tour of inspection. During his stay he comes to Amherst when the students are preparing for the fall athletic meet. He is as ignorant of athletics as some people are of the facts concerning the spiritual life. The peculiar conduct of the few in training soon arrests his attention. "What are they doing?" "Why do they move about in such queer ways?" he asks a bystander. "Practicing for the prize," is the reply. A week later he puts a similar question to another stranger and receives as answer, "They are working for the honor of the college." Time passes but no results appear to justify such an interpretation. At length he ventures to ask again, "What are these fellows doing?" "Trying to break a record," is the rejoinder.

Puzzled more than ever, he starts a series of reflections. "Running for a prize," but where and what is it? And why should a prize be given in an educational institution merely for running? "Breaking a record," none of these can run half as fast as a hound or a horse, or for that matter as certain Indians I saw

¹ This and the following were among the later pamphlets. The title of this was "Expediency."

two months ago. When express trains go ninety miles an hour and every one in a hurry travels by rail, what odds does it make whether one fellow can jog along a little faster or a little slower than his mate? Most people do not run at all; they are ashamed to, at least in public. By and by our celestial visitor concludes that he has been "gulled" by his informants. Remembering that on each occasion the athletes were scantily clothed, while the wind was cold and raw, he concludes that this whole performance is simply an effort to keep warm. He reasons thus: There are only three possible effects of running: either it must make the runner colder, or leave his temperature unchanged, or make him warmer. In every instance I have noticed that exercise has simply one effect: it creates heat in proportion to its severity and duration. Here, then, is the solution of the whole matter, for this is the only result the poor fellows always and everywhere attain.

Simply because happiness is clearly a result of all conduct called blessed by Carlyle, does it follow that it is the end in the sense of motive or object in view, or is it merely an accidental by-product, like perspiration in running for a prize? In short, does Spencer prove that blessedness is happiness, and thus that selfishness is the only end of action? Has he done more than to show that possibly happiness may incidentally be always caused by blessedness? Friction and wear are inevitably produced wherever machinery is used, yet what should we think of a scientist who, having demonstrated the necessity of this, should then claim to have proved that all machinery, even that in the most costly manufacturing plant, was constructed by men for that end and for no other?

Do not misunderstand me. I simply claim that Spencer, though he professes to have refuted Carlyle, yet really leaves the whole question just where he found it. This surely is not scholarly. The burden of proof is on him, since the other view is the prevailing one among the masses, and has been held by some of our ablest thinkers. It has ingrained itself into literature and life and cannot be extirpated without evidence sufficient to prove it false.

To get the exact problem before us, take the case of the Good Samaritan. Why has he, and not the priest and the Levite who passed by on the other side, been the theme of art and admiration for nearly two thousand years?

Lincoln when riding through a low country saw a swine struggling hopelessly in the mire. He was deeply affected by the animal's misfortune, but kept on his journey. He had gone about a mile beyond the place when he could stand it no longer, so turned squarely about, retraced his path, and rescued the brute. On telling his experience to a friend he was complimented as one so unselfish as to be kind even to the humblest animal. To which he replied, "I did not do it for the sake of the swine, but for my own peace of mind. It was easier to go back and help the poor thing than to have the thought haunting me all the time."

If you accept the happiness theory of Spencer, must you not admit that the Good Samaritan had a similar motive, and was not one bit unselfish? In relieving the man who had been robbed, he saved himself considerable annoyance and possibly several nights' sleep by getting the thought of the sufferer out of mind. Are you satisfied with this explanation? If so, ought

you to admire the Samaritan rather than the priest and the Levite, who were less sentimental? This time he helped the right man, to be sure, but would he always? Lincoln, by his tender-heartedness, spoiled the discipline of the army by refusing to sign the death warrant of those who slept on picket duty or proved cowards at critical moments in a charge. Congress had to take the whole matter out of his hands before the army could be made efficient. Sentimentalism is not merely tender to the unfortunate, but it helps criminals escape just punishment, feeds tramps, causes the slums to multiply by giving charity to those who deserve it not. It is thus cruel to humanity as a whole.

Take another case—that of Christ. Why did He go up to the Passover and face the issue, when He was free to stay away and let the crisis blow over? Did He suffer on the cross simply because He would have suffered more afterwards if He had evaded the issue? Even Spencer seems to think such an explanation would be superficial, for he concedes that there are cases where an individual is justified in bringing a surplus of misery on himself, provided he thereby benefits others. That is his altruism. He holds it up as the ideal for the individual, but argues that the race as a whole could not be justified in a course of action that would bring upon itself such a surplus of suffering.

But what is the motive that actuates Spencer's hero? By hypothesis it is not his own happiness. What, then, is it? You reply, "The happiness of others." Well, what is that to him? Why should he suffer that they may not suffer? No sane man acts without a motive; what motive do you give him for making the sacrifice? If it were nothing to him, if he were per-

fectly indifferent to their welfare, of course he would not go out of his way to help them.

I can find only two answers possible here. (1) The thought of others' enjoyment may be a source of greater pleasure to him than those pleasures which he has sacrificed; that is, his own highest happiness is not direct enjoyment, but induced through consciousness of the welfare of others; just as in a Ruhmkorff coil the direct current cannot be compared in intensity with the indirect. But this is the view, that he experiences a surplus of pleasure over pain, and therefore contradicts the facts admitted by Spencer. Such altruism would be no altruism at all — only shrewd selfishness. (2) That there is some other standard of conduct than pleasure. Christ, for instance, did not consider what He was to gain or lose by His career any more than an auditor of a bank, when he follows the multiplication table, is looking for a reward. He figures "five times five are twenty-five," not because that number will give him more happiness than either a higher or a lower one, but simply because it is the truth. Why may not truth (justice) be as ultimate for the will as for the intellect? If so, process not product would be our standard in ethics as truly as in mathematics.

But, you ask, is not a third position possible, *viz.*, unselfishness, or the welfare of others? May not one bear a surplus of suffering just for the sake of benefiting the race, *i. e.*, for the greatest good to the greatest number? Since so many advocate this view, it surely must be conceivable. Why, then, do you affirm that the above two motives are all that are possible?

We reply that if it is admitted that all our knowledge

comes from experience, that a man born blind can know nothing of the artist's delight in color and a man born deaf can have no conception of the inspiration of music, then one is obliged to go a step farther and admit that all experience is originally subjective; therefore all knowledge of others is vicarious. I know and can know nothing concerning the life of my dearest friend save in terms of my own inner life, and what is true of man is true of my knowledge of God. "With the pure thou wilt show thyself pure, and with the froward thou wilt show thyself froward." "Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God." It follows, then, that what is right for self must be judged the ideal life for all others under the same conditions. If my life would be debased if devoted supremely to my own highest happiness, how can I strive to bring about that result in my neighbors? Would I degrade them to a level I myself avoid? Either I must abstain from all judgment concerning others or I must believe that the processes that make me unworthy cannot ennoble them. This is the supreme point; we may not like this limitation, but, fret about it as much as we will, how can we escape it? To recur to Kant's illustration, "As the dove can never fly beyond the atmosphere which alone makes flight at all possible," so a finite being who is not creative, but in the highest flights of his imagination can only recombine data gained by experience, can never know or guess of another life as governed by different laws than his own. Wherever we seem to accomplish such a result we have simply been the slaves of abstraction. In fairy stories we take certain attributes from our own experience, and, neglecting all others, get queer products. But make your thought concrete, remove the

abstraction and incompleteness of your fairyland, and its contradictions and absurdities become apparent. Actual life is always concrete, and speaking of that alone our proposition holds, *viz.*, there can be no such thing as altruism in the sense that one obliterates himself solely for the happiness of others, or that he is willing to be damned (not merely to suffer unjustly but to be damned justly) for the glory of God. If it is noble to obliterate self, then it is noble to do what we can to help others to obliterate, not to magnify, themselves and their happiness. If *we* ought to do that which can justly be damned, we must have the same ideal for God, and must strive not for His glory but for His damnation. Either this conclusion or you must prove that all our knowledge is not vicarious. Either there is no science at all, either we are absolutely agnostic concerning God and man, or what is right for one is right for all given the same conditions.

Therefore if Christ made His own happiness supreme and believed Himself justified in so doing, He of course conceded the same right to others. But He never knowingly and honestly could have elected a life involving a surplus of suffering for their sake. This is self-evident: such a career would have made His own happiness no longer supreme. Either such sacrifice was thoughtless or He calculated by this course to gain greater returns in the long run.

On the other hand, if Christ made righteousness ultimate for Himself and felt obliged to sacrifice therefor, as conditions made it necessary, His life may indeed have been that of "a man of sorrows, acquainted with grief." But He must have suffered and died, not to make others happy, but to make them righteous, *i. e.*, "to change them into His own image." This is the

Scriptural way of stating it: "The disciple is not above his Lord, nor the servant above his Master." "Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus." "Be ye therefore perfect (not happy), even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." For Christ to have striven to bring about in others an ultimate condition which He clearly recognized as supremely evil for Himself would have been the greatest crime conceivable. Therefore, when Spencer concedes that an individual is justified in choosing a surplus of suffering under certain conditions, he concedes that happiness is not an end, but a by-product, *i. e.*, gives up his whole case. *Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus* is the scientific standard of inductive reasoning. To this position there is a possible objection, *viz.*, it is not happiness itself, but the striving for one's own happiness, that is, selfishness, that debases a man. Therefore, in working for another's welfare it is not that other's enjoyment, but your own disinterested spirit of self-sacrifice, that gives nobility to your character. Consequently by making another happy you are not degrading him, since you are not compelling him to strive for his own happiness, that is, to be selfish. All the while he may be inspired with the same altruism that animates you.

To this objection we reply, that it abandons the whole principle of altruism, for it makes self and not another the centre of one's horizon. The real ultimate end of action, on this basis, is one's own character. The fact that this character happens to cause happiness to others is a mere accident. Happiness is a by-product instead of the motive power. Indeed, there is not a trace of evidence to show that such character will always produce such a result. If self-sacrifice brings pain to yourself, why may it not likewise

bring pain to your friends? Did the self-sacrifice of Christ bring joy to His disciples or to His mother? If the whole matter had ended as human lives must end under like conditions, would it ever have brought joy to the world?

This is a commercial age, and mere quantity is everything to some minds. "Greatest good to the greatest number" implies to them that mere numbers introduce some new factor into the problem of conduct. What answer can be made to these persons? — There can be no doubt of their sincerity. It is true that in some spheres difference in degree or mere magnitude makes a difference of kind in results attained. For instance: under fourteen vibrations a second the ear detects only separate noises, but above that number we may get a musical note. At a given temperature plants grow and blossom; diminish the heat sufficiently and they are killed by frost. It is one thing to talk with an individual acquaintance, but quite another to address a large audience. A chemist is satisfied with a small bottle of sea water for analysis, since he thereby determines the composition of the ocean itself. But if the whole of Neptune's kingdom were put into bottles, and the Wandering Jew should live long enough to examine each one singly, he would have seen no ocean, no ebb and flow of tides, no dashing of breakers, no earthquake waves. Mere quantity is a vital matter. This is especially true in monetary affairs, and it is not strange that a commercial age jumps to the conclusion that it is everything in ethics. But if you look not at results, but at processes, the case is different. Tyndall tells us that "where law is concerned there is no great and no small. The force that moulds the tear rounds the

planet." Gravity can be tested as truly by the pendulum as by a whole heaven full of stars. In ethics we are concerned with processes.

How, then, can mere numbers figure in determining the right process of moral conduct? Law simply states how a thing acts; the cause of its action is in its own constitution: till this is changed the law cannot vary. Numbers in society do change the conditions under which we act, and give us a wider opportunity; they do not change the constitution of the actor. The man who lives in the city may have a higher grade of development than one who lives in the country, but this simply makes actual what was potential in his nature all the time. Looking not at products but at processes, good to one is good to and for all; the greatest good to one is the greatest good, the only ultimate good, to every one, not simply to the majority.

It is a mistake to affirm that the happiness of the community is so much greater than that of individuals; that they should, therefore, be sacrificed for the good of the whole. There is no such thing as happiness of the community. The happiness of one person does not fuse with that of ten thousand others to make an aggregate, any more than their personalities fuse to constitute a *Zeitgeist*. Springs of water may mingle their overflow and make a brook, brooks may empty into each other and produce a river, then all rivers flow into the ocean and become part of one vast aggregate of waters; but this never happens in the personal life of individuals. The community, as the term is here used, is composed of individuals in relationship, therefore the happiness of the whole can never be greater in degree than the happiness of the most favored individual therein.

Now that we are on the subject of altruism, I must say a word as to its essential immorality [when taken in the sense of making one's self "merely a means" to others' happiness]. The term surprises you, but it is not a whit too strong. If it is possible to put self and its welfare completely out of sight in order to labor solely for others, it will be equally possible to put out of sight self and its responsibilities and obligations. Unless self is the centre of one's horizon and is degraded by wrong doing and ennobled by right doing, there is nothing to tie to, nothing to bind the person to the path of duty. Life becomes impersonal, *merely a means to an end and never an end in itself*; hence a mere thing to be used or abused by others. Now this is exactly the principle of bossism. The boss and the tyrant alone have personality; all their followers are simply tools to be used as they please. This is entirely the spirit of some of our commercial corporations, where the counting-houses are heads and the operatives are simply hands, existing not for themselves, but for their employers. You know what this self-abnegation has meant in religious history. Freedom of scientific thought, right of private interpretation of Scripture, conscience, friendships the most sacred, all have been offered up at the command of the Church.

Further, it is not commonly supposed that altruism is practically absurd; but a moment's thought will make this appear. Just test the principle by making it universal. Nothing in science is a law unless it holds in all cases under the same conditions. Therefore, suppose the altruistic millennium to have actually been reached, and that every one in the world is striving for the complete abnegation of self in the attempt to work

for others. Each is then striving to bestow on his neighbor just what that neighbor is most unwilling to receive. Let us take a particular case. The Amherst baseball team goes to Williamstown to play a championship game. By hypothesis they are ashamed to win the victory — that would be too selfish; therefore they must do all in their power to secure the success of their rivals. Would not that destroy completely the whole value of the game? Unless Amherst men strive with all their power for their own advancement, what would a victory for Williams be worth? Even ladies feel insulted when you “play girl” in tennis for their benefit. But the rule must work both ways. The Williams team must also use their best endeavor to have Amherst win. So altruism has committed suicide. Each is striving for victory over the other, only it is a case of “give away” instead of the regular game. Would the changed programme be a satisfactory one for either party? Does it not recall Beecher’s reference to an altruistic stomach?

Here, then, is our problem clearly before us. Altruism in the ordinary meaning of the term is a mere abstraction as mythological as fairyland. Only two supreme choices are conceivable when we think concretely. Either one must be supremely selfish, make his own happiness the end of his existence and sacrifice temporary advantages for others’ welfare only as a way of getting greater pleasure or of avoiding something unpleasant, or he must drop out happiness altogether *as an end*, not merely his own, but that of others and even of the race. It may be a means, a by-product, just as truly as health or wealth; therefore it may be even a duty to strive for it when conditions make it an effective means. Happiness means

anabolism of nerve tissue. When a man like Dr. Parkhurst had to resign his marvelous work in civil reform in New York because he was in danger of a nervous breakdown, it behooves a young man to do his best to store up nerve energy as a capitalist lays up cash. But it must always be valued at its true worth, and one cannot be too careful to avoid the mistake of the miser who makes the means the end.

Which of these two ends is the right one, that is, the one that squares with our spiritual nature? If man were merely a creature of brain paths, all would concede the proposition we affirmed in the Fall Term. But since there is some thought not a function of brain, what is true for this sphere? We may get strong though not conclusive evidence on this problem if we note the standard of criticism in literature and history. What does admiration for great men mean? Why has the world honored Christ, Socrates, Paul, Luther, Lincoln? Is it because they were shrewder than others and made investments that returned larger dividends in personal happiness than, for instance, did Judas or Nero? Is a man great in proportion to what he gets out of life? If Benedict Arnold had won, would the world have admired him and have execrated the name of Washington? Or does history judge a man, as art estimates a statue, on his own merits? The standard is not the amount of fun he enjoys, but the kind of character he is, *i. e.*, whether his life squares with the laws of his spiritual being. When you criticise a person who lived so long ago that you can eliminate the personal equation, is not your one question simply this: Was he true to his truest self, to the divine nature of which he was a partaker, or did he prostitute this gift to action along

the lines of least resistance? If this is the standard by which you judge others, it is surely the ideal of your own life, for you know nothing about others save in terms of yourself. No man can have two sets of values, one for self, the other for historic characters, if he is thinking of processes instead of products. Does the world in its sober moments ever admire anything that will not stand the test of truth? Men are dazzled by success. But take the cases of honor bestowed on the boss, on the tyrant like Napoleon, on the train robber like Jesse James: Is it the evil deed that is worshiped, or is it the courage, persistence, self-control, patience, endurance, will power, independence, or brilliant intellectual ability revealed in the deed under such dangerous conditions, that inspires enthusiasm? Are not these in themselves all noble qualities, just what every man ought to aspire to? Men worship power because it is divine. Even when wrongly used it is still a divine gift that has been debased. The sun has spots, large ones too, but the other parts are so bright our eyes are blinded to the spots. Is the false, when we consider it apart and by itself, no matter how much pleasure it may give, praiseworthy in the eyes of the masses? Booth and Guiteau both assassinated a President, but how different the men; one died game, the other as a fool dieth. Was it Booth's crime, or his abilities, that excited some admiration from certain persons? If this is true in the world's judgment of evil-doers, how much more is it the standard by which it measures those who do well. Macaulay says, "The true hero is always unconsciously brave." At the time of his greatest daring he has no thought of the honor he is to win, he simply sees that the deed is the right thing

to do and does it. His judgment is no more influenced by thought of reward than is a scientist in making an accurate chemical analysis. The spirit of science is simply truth for truth's sake. There are Pharisees in the world, and their number is not few, but the whole of literature and history repudiates such beings as not men. They are inhuman, unnatural.

What Macaulay says of heroes is true of those who are righteous. Christ represents himself in Matthew xxv as saying on the day of judgment to those on his right hand: "Come, ye blessed of my Father. . . . For I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat." But they answer, "Lord, when saw we thee an hungered, and fed thee?" Had they the slightest thought when they did this kind deed of the reward they were earning; were they not simply "unconsciously good"? Is not this always true of real goodness? The moment a man does right because it pays, he has his price. Truth or righteousness is then only a means, not an end. If the devil could pay higher wages than Christ, then like Judas he would change masters. The world has no words too strong for such traitors. "They are the children of hell." "Ye are of your father the devil."

Take the same scene in Matthew. Unto those on his left hand, Christ says, "Depart from me. . . . For I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat." And they reply, "When saw we thee an hungered, . . . and did not minister unto thee?" They have been on the lookout for just that case, they have eaten and drunken in His presence and in His name cast out devils, and done many wonderful works. They have earned a big reward. Christ does not dispute their statement, but simply says, "I never knew you." In

their holiest deeds they had a selfish motive, and in them He never found anything to approve. Truly Christ did not bestow heaven on those on His right hand to pay for service. He recognized no debt. It was merely a gift. Europe's ceremonies at the death of Queen Victoria were not to pay her for what she did: not for her sake, but for their own sakes. What would be their character if they failed to appreciate the life of such a queen? Just what action must follow the true appreciation? The gift of God is eternal life. "Not for your sakes, O house of Israel, but for mine own name's sake have I done all this, saith the Lord." "For the wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life." The good man is not working for wages, but the bad man is, and ultimately he will get, not a reward, but just what he so richly earns,—shame and contempt and condemnation, which is the second death. The final decision of this question must be from evidence given by introspection into our own conscious processes. Each man must weigh this evidence for himself; no other can make the investigation for him.

But the problem is simplified when we know what to look for. Much confusion has arisen by supposing intellect, not impulse, to be the mainspring of conduct. This is a topic we have already discussed. We found that in the lower grades of life pleasure and its opposite are merely by-products. Any other view is absurd. To reason that moths repeatedly try to get into the candle flame, or that fish take the hook over and over again, because of the fun they have in these experiences, is as unwarranted as to conclude that because a person falls on the icy street several times during the winter, therefore he must enjoy it. Impulse acts as auto-

matically and as fatally as gravity. It is not determined by pleasure, but acts, like all the forces in nature, according to its own constitution. It differs from them in that it is conscious, and may be guided towards its goal by cognition. Our nearest approach towards such simple conduct is in passion. In a fit of anger, does a man "make a fool of himself" because he enjoys it? Did he calculate in advance the exact amount of happiness to be gained by giving vent to rage, and then the sum coming from self-control, with the cost of each; did he then strike a balance and find it on the side of the former, and so deliberately elect this course? Only a mediæval scholastic could be satisfied with such an explanation. Constitutional impulse is all there is to it. All the higher ideals are for the moment forgotten. Consequences are not in the field of view. Pleasure or sorrow are merely by-products and may be a complete surprise. Afterwards the man cannot conceive how he could have been so horrid.

That pleasure at this stage of life is not an end, but only an accident, can be seen by contrasting affections with perceptions. Give attention to an object of perception and it becomes clearer, and "the longer and more accurately will it be remembered, but we cannot attend to an affection at all. If we attempt to do so, the pleasantness or unpleasantness at once eludes us and disappears. If we wish to get pleasure from a beautiful picture, we must attend to the picture; if with our eyes on it we try to attend to our feelings, the pleasantness of the experience is gone." If when out shooting you keep asking yourself, "Now, am I having a good time; is this fun?" you will miss all the excitement of the chase. In an age when men are

absorbed in stirring events like the founding of the Christian church by Paul and the early Christians, or in the Reformation, or in the struggles for civil liberty under Washington, we get no trace of pessimism among the actors; but when luxury increases, and men are devoted to happiness as an end, as in the decline of Greece and Rome, and in many places to-day, there is any amount of pessimism. Life is not worth living and suicide is common. The reason for this is clear. "Affections correspond to the way one's nervous organism receives its experiences." There must be the right kind of experiences. The way ceases when experiences stop, and with them goes the pleasure. The main thing in life is the right impulsive action, the agreeableness is a by-product. Wherever this order is reversed, disappointment must follow. Happiness is not to be gained by seeking it. He that will save his life, *i. e.*, make it an end, shall lose it, but he that will lose his life rightly shall find it, and with it the by-product in question. Very early in the development of the animal kingdom pleasure and its opposite had a reflex influence on the impulse, either intensifying or inhibiting it. Then in time individuals who liked injurious experiences destroyed themselves. Evolution thus began a weeding-out process, and secured that to a considerable extent pleasure should be identified with anabolism of the nervous system, and unpleasantness with katabolism. Affections then became more and more a *means* of self-preservation. Now by following their likes and dislikes the higher animals, which have no science and which would miserably perish at once if they had to rely on cognition, live for a longer or shorter period a very complex life.

Bear in mind that this is not because there is any

virtue in pleasure *per se*. It does not teach us that if we follow our own highest happiness we shall come out all right; rather, probably, just the reverse. The standard of evolution is not the greatest good to the greatest number, but only to the few fittest. A race can preserve its position only by the same processes by which it evolved; suspend these and there will be speedy reversion to a lower level. The struggle for existence must be sharp enough to secure that those who have advantageous qualities shall continually forge ahead, while the masses are forced to fall behind. Were there no spiritual nature to man, he would necessarily make his own happiness his end, and by this agency evolution would secure — if he happened to belong to the elect, for whom accidental variation had done so much — that he would work out his own perfection, and through heredity the progress of the species. But if, as would be most likely in any given case, he belonged to the great majority, he would in this way shorten his life and thus help purify the race of characteristics that ought not to be perpetuated. For the unfortunate there would be no hope: “The soul that sinneth, it shall die.” No regeneration of the individual is possible. To evolution, expediency means not the expediency of the average individual, nor of the masses, but of the few fittest and of the future race.

But man has a spiritual nature and with it spiritual impulses. These are original and ultimate. They require certain cognitions as the condition essential to their activity, as truly as the vital force in plants must have rain and sunlight and soil in order to produce growth and a harvest. But, given the essential condition, the spiritual impulses are self-active and self-

directed. There is no "why" or "because" that can explain them, since they are constitutional. They are self-directed towards the realization of all that is potential in that spiritual nature. Since truth or justice to us are simply that which squares with this spiritual constitution, we shorten up the phraseology and say: The end of these impulses is "right for right's sake." Undoubtedly such action often will produce happiness, but this is a by-product, not a motive. It then becomes possible for science to supplant evolution in perfecting the race. It is no longer necessary to have the masses perish in order that the few fittest may survive, because the individual may be regenerated. If his likes and dislikes are wrong, he may resist them and restrain himself. Not selfishness, but service, becomes the process of the moral life. The law, "A can determine himself only through B," brings the social order into a condition of peace and interdependence instead of war and independence. Utilitarianism is the order of Darwinian evolution; justice and mercy are the order of moral evolution. Brain paths are on the side of the former. Of course it is not easy to change a point of view when the whole stress of physical heredity is against the spiritual life. But man is made in the image of God as truly as in the image of the animals, and he thus inherits the divine nature with all its possibilities. It is for him to decide which set of impulses shall control his career.

XIV

EXPEDIENCY AS A WORKING PRINCIPLE

LET us sum up the conclusions that logically follow from the postulate that the ultimate motive for conduct is happiness, not righteousness.

1. We must drop all reference to joy or suffering that comes through conscience. Remorse is possible only when one believes in justice as something quite distinct from profit and loss. Judas, had he not committed suicide, might have been kept from another crime by memory of the agony he experienced on account of his treachery. If tempted again, pangs of conscience would have more than outweighed any proffered reward. The same is true of the joy one has when he is conscious of having done right at great cost. It may be a keener pleasure than any other. But it cannot be won by the man whose sole aim is the luxury of an approving conscience. It is a by-product only when one does right for no other reason than that it is right. If a utilitarian could be strictly logical, he would drop both these factors from his experience as completely as a scientific man drops the superstition of witchcraft. Every question with him would be simply a question of advantage or disadvantage.

A person who holds to the happiness theory, located in a community which believes in righteousness and truth, will find it for his interests to do many things that in a strictly utilitarian community he would never think of doing. There will be restraints upon his

conduct — a regard for public favor — that will make him a very exemplary citizen; but all this should be credited, not to his premises, but to those of the community. A rosebud cut from the bush and placed in water will blossom. But this fact can never be used as an argument to show that from start to finish a vase is just as good as a rosebush and its roots for the growth and development of flowers.

2. Each individual must be supremely selfish and unswervingly follow that course in life which would give him his own highest happiness.

3. The only heroism which such a person could experience would be in the sacrifice of some present appetite or passion for future gain. The present and the future are often in irreconcilable conflict. As one sits in the dentist's chair, his pain may not be made less by the thought that he will feel better when his teeth are done aching, or that it is wiser to suffer a little now than a great deal farther on.

4. Utilitarianism furnishes no guide whatever for the individual when life becomes very complex. If there is no such thing as righteousness, then everything depends upon calculation of results; and can any one except an omniscient being perform this with any great measure of success? Take the case of Benedict Arnold. When he was in command at West Point the British were in possession of New York; they had worked their way down from Canada so that there really was only one strong post of the Americans that prevented the union of their two armies. Could they but secure West Point they would have cut the colonies in two, and it would be easy to whip first one half, then the other. Benedict Arnold saw the whole situation and he held the key to the solution of the prob-

lem. There was no reason why he should be found out. Ordinary precaution would guard against that; no one suspected him. If he put the British in control at West Point, Washington would be hung as a traitor, and he would be the man who saved the colonies for the mother country. It was a mere accident, and a very foolish one at that, which led his messenger into difficulty and thus revealed the whole plot. I ask you what person, looking simply at probabilities and caring nothing for righteousness, could have decided otherwise than as Arnold did. And yet that decision has brought him infamy that becomes blacker as time goes on. So long as the American nation exists on the face of the earth, his name will be a by-word and a reproach in history. Our ocean steamers can navigate out of sight of land only because astronomy is a fixed science. What success would they have if there were no immutable mathematics? What success could a finite being have on the sea of life if there were no immutable right and wrong? Utilitarianism does away with this and leaves him neither chart, nor compass, nor star to guide his course. But this analogy is incomplete. Navigation has to do with nature, which was created and is sustained by God. There man simply discovers His laws of working and conforms himself thereto. There is a fixed order of nature, something to tie to. But the social world is the product of human effort. Here we have not a single all-wise creator, but millions of ignorant and imperfect authors. Heretofore they have been largely restrained and guided by their religious convictions. But evolutionary science has undermined these more generally than we realize. If in the future each person shall strive to mould the course of events,

so far as he can influence it, simply in the direction of what he judges to be his own individual happiness, what kind of a social order shall we have? How can we calculate the changes or adjust ourselves to them?

5. There will be two classes in society: The one, those of vivid imagination who attempt to make the future present, and thus act from considerations of the future instead of from present stimuli. The other, creatures of appetite and passion, whose senses are omnipotent and whose foresight is dim. These discount the future in terms of the present.

6. Only two positions are conceivable. (a) Either the interest of the individual is more or less in antagonism to the welfare of society as a whole; or (b) the two are entirely consistent: what benefits one benefits the other.

The first position requires that there should be irreconcilable war between the long-headed and the short-sighted man, between the few who are fated to survive and the masses. It is a case of the lion and the lamb. The lion is a carnivorous animal and must prey on the herbivorous, or perish.

If we accept this view, the conclusion of Mr. Kidd would seem to follow, *viz.*, "There can be no rational sanction for progress." For as soon as the masses find out the fact that they are being exploited for the benefit of the future ages, or the fittest in their own age, they will object; and as they have the power they will put a stop to progress. In other words, evolution must commit suicide. This is a pessimistic outlook which, it seems to me, can be avoided only by changing the premises. Let us illustrate the conflict of interests by a few instances.

According to Spencer, good and bad indicate means

to ends and not intrinsic merit. What, then, is a good education? It is the one which fits a man for his particular type of work, not the one that makes a man out of him. Personal habits are formed early. Rarely can a man who has not mastered a foreign language before he is twenty ever speak it without a brogue, says James. An army officer once said that no man makes a good rider of a horse, a good cavalryman, unless he learns before he is out of his teens. It follows, then, that if a young man spends his adolescence in school he cannot secure that skill which he might have attained if, during this period, he had been occupied with practical affairs. If he is to be a laborer, and the competition in the struggle for existence is sharp, a good school education would be a bad thing, whereas manual training would be ideal.

In the making of a shoe the work is now divided into sixty-four parts. Formerly a workman made the whole shoe; now he makes only one sixty-fourth of it. The result is very great skill in one narrow line. This enables the factory to produce a large output at the lowest possible cost. That is, by making the employees machines and depriving them of manhood, the factory can pay a large dividend. To reverse this would increase the cost of production and so make returns less.

When studying habit, we found that success in life absolutely demanded that we should hand over as many important actions as possible to our nervous system to be performed automatically. To stop to think about an action is a waste of time and success. We now see that the law for the individual holds for society. It must hand over as large a part of its work as possible to men who have been made automatic and

thoughtless, in order that economy may reach a maximum. This means that equality of men is not merely impossible because they are not all equally gifted, but the whole interest of society antagonizes equality. The caste system must grow; the laborer must be a hand and not a head, a machine and not a person. That this is already beginning to be realized is seen by the unwillingness of large firms to allow employees to go from room to room and learn the entire business, and so "work up" to higher positions. The same is true of clerks. Each must keep his place; his value to the concern depends upon his accurate knowledge of all the details which belong to his particular sphere. This can be secured only by doing the same work year after year. The employer in making a contract wants to know the minimum cost of certain processes in production, the exact quantity of raw material, the various grades, etc. He wants to know instantly and accurately; hence the clerk who has been in that position for twenty years is worth more to him than a beginner. Save in a few cases where a man is very gifted he finds that no chance is given him to rise. Have I overdrawn the picture? Surely not intentionally. If man has no spiritual nature the outlook for the masses is not merely dark, but black. Labor problems are insoluble.

But if man is partaker of the divine nature the case is different: social progress is assured; it becomes an absolute necessity. The masses will not submit to this de-personalizing process, no matter how large a price you pay them. Not utility but manhood will be their ideal. Only as long as you keep them ignorant and give them no opportunity to enrich their mental life can you condemn them to slavery. But the light will

come. Their present unrest is the dim awaking of a consciousness that they are more than mere animals. When aroused you cannot make a machine of the laborer; you'll make a devil of him first. There is a certain amount of spiritual energy that must be spent somewhere, and if you do not allow it to find expression in things that are noble it will force him into the saloon, into the slums, into secret organizations like those in Russia. Those who believe in the caste system, in emasculating humanity, call themselves very practical, hard-headed business men, but really they are visionary people. Society needs machines and must have them, but these must be made out of steel and brass. You cannot make machines out of manhood. Those who try to do so are sowing the wind, and risk reaping the whirlwind. Such leaders are the real enemies of society. Why not import Chinese and get our work done for a tenth of what it now costs? We reply because they are men; therefore be careful how you treat them as mere animals. Import them and you import the opium den with them; you import the devil, and you've got to pay tariff on him after you get him in, not once for all, but over and over again. The Chinaman in America will either grow up and be a man and demand a man's wages, or he will go down lower than he was in China, and by and by become a subterranean force of sufficient power to produce an earthquake. Tammany depends upon the imported element, and you see what the tariff costs. Is this practical statesmanship?

Society organized on the basis of utilitarianism is in unstable equilibrium. We have shown that society never acts *per se*. Whatever is done is done by individuals acting singly or together. If the motive of

each is his own happiness, his conduct will be determined, not by his own actual welfare as science might calculate it, but by his own private convictions concerning his interests. Anything that changes these convictions will alter his action. Do you wonder that often he is very capricious? Were it a matter of right or wrong the judgment of the masses would be fairly constant; such questions are simple. But if they simply estimate their own gain or loss, then there are times when a very small affair would shake society to its foundations. Sitting quietly in our study, it is easy to convince ourselves that one's highest happiness is gained through regard for the interests of others. But we are now free from severe temptation. Suppose we should be placed in trying circumstances; are we sure our opinion would remain unaltered? Are we sure that we should never flinch?

Many disciples of utility clearly see that once concede that the interests of the individual clash with those of society and the fate of their pet theory is sealed. The more scientific the age becomes, the more surely would progress of the race be suspended. Let me state this in another form. If self-interest of the ordinary man conflicts with the welfare of the species, then the only hope of society, the only basis on which our institutions can be perpetuated, is that the masses remain ignorant or be governed by some other motive. A practical sociology could not be written on the happiness theory. You see why the doctrine of a necessary antagonism is so earnestly disputed.

This brings us to the second possible position, *viz.*, that the true welfare of the individual and of society are identical. We make the following criticism here:

(1) What, then, is the difference between crime and

virtue, between the saint and the sinner? It cannot be a difference in character, for all men have the same supreme choice and face in the same direction. Sin must be merely a matter of ignorance, virtue is only shrewdness. There is no merit save success, no crime except failure. Judas and Jesus each did just the best they knew how to do; so of Nero and Paul; but there was a greater difference in their intellectual ability than men have been willing to admit. All the condemnations visited on wrongdoers have been a mistake. A fool should be pitied, not execrated.

(2) This view makes intellect, not will, the main factor in conduct.

(3) Only one thing is needed for the salvation of the world. This is not the Scriptural "new birth" or regeneration of character; not a "change of heart," a reversal of the supreme investment, but simply knowledge (intelligence). It is in ethics as in trade. Convince ladies, for instance, that Wanamaker has a bargain counter where goods are sold at half price, and see how they will throng his store. Advertising is all that is needed to clear his counters of goods when prices have been cut. If all men have merely one aim, *viz.*, the highest happiness, then they only need to be convinced that to injure their neighbor is to harm themselves, and the millennium has arrived. What a mistake, then, to employ policemen and hangmen; not these, but teachers, will be efficient. Does Wanamaker hire policemen instead of clerks? What an absurd institution is a jail! If a man who has been instructed in the right path fails to follow it, he is not a criminal, but a fool or insane. He should be sent to the asylum, and not to a prison.

(4) Aside from the impulsive nature of appetites

and passions, no man who realized what he was doing could experience the slightest temptation. There could be no such person as an educated villain. It is only tautology to say that an intelligent man is virtuous. A Napoleon or a Cæsar would be simply inconceivable. Could any one knowingly and deliberately plan a career that would bring harm to society and therefore to himself? An idiot might do so, but not a genius. All the safeguards of a republican form of government, whereby the state is protected against tyranny, are irrational and should be swept away. No one is so anxious to benefit the state as the chief executive. It is his highest interest so to do. A constitution that made provision for the information of the sovereign would contain everything of practical value.

There is and can be no spoils system, since in plundering the public men are robbing themselves, and politicians would be shrewd enough to see it. Civil-service reform is an illusion.

Those whom we call burglars are not wicked, only ill-informed. Send them not to prison, but to the Sunday-school, and they will at once change their whole mode of life.

Tammany could be regenerated by a single well-written textbook on sociology, just as a foolish superstition concerning a wet and dry moon is removed from the minds of harvest laborers by a single monograph on astronomy.

(5) Of what practical advantage, then, would be religion, if there is such a thing? If we have only one road, and all sane men are sure to follow it in their thoughtful moments, the only possible question is as to the methods of travel. Some will go on foot, some

may drive, and others may ride in cars; but the difference will be simply in the speed and the degree of comfort. I submit that these are very subordinate considerations. Would it be worth the life of the Son of God to come from heaven to earth and die to teach men simply to establish a line of church omnibuses, with their jolting springs and their straight back seats, such as have been furnished in the past, when science was sure in time to build a railroad and run Pullman excursion trains in the same direction?

(6) If evil is only good in the making, where is there room for true heroism? If no intelligent man can be tempted, why did Christ sweat great drops of blood in Gethsemane? What means the request that His disciples watch with Him one hour? What did the whole line of prophets and apostles down to the days of Lincoln suffer and die for? There was no great moral cause to be defended; there were no enemies of truth and righteousness. All were eager to attain their highest interests, and therefore the highest welfare of society. No man could say: I know the right and approve it too, but still the wrong pursue. Why, then, did Luther and Washington take matters so seriously? They were as ridiculous in forcing an issue over a mere difference of intelligence as Don Quixote in his tilt against windmills. In other spheres you do not fume and fret because some are stupid and find it hard to understand complex questions; you laugh at them, and go on in your own way. Take it in Wall Street. All men are eager there to make money. But does any one pose as a martyr simply because he cannot persuade short-sighted people not to risk their investment hastily? If he is right, time will vindicate him very quickly, and men will

soon value his opinion. From this point of view the great crises in history lose their whole significance. There was no more reason for the early church's forcing an issue and sacrificing its best than there would be now for Professor Hyslop and members of the Society for Psychical Research to do the same because their evidence in the Mrs. Piper case is not quite satisfactory to President Stanley Hall and other honest seekers after truth.

(7) Life is deprived of all motive for achievement unless it be true that in the world there really are vile men bent on evil to society for their own advantage. Are you going to raise up a generation of patriots — of Lincolns and Washingtons and Wendell Phillipses and Sumners — upon the doctrine that every fully intelligent man is absolutely sure to aid the progress of society except when he is careless and does not think; that there is no deep-rooted antagonism to righteousness; no foe worth your steel; no crisis worth the enormous sacrifice of even life itself for the sake of achieving a victory? In the army it sometimes happens that friendly regiments fire on each other in the dark because they are not recognized, but the moment they discover the mistake the firing stops, and they are profuse in their apologies. How different from an enemy's fire! Does the former ever make heroes? But if this theory holds, throughout the entire world there are no enemies, no real wars; all are actually friends and allies. Literature and history entirely lose their meaning if we hold that the interests of the individual and society are identical. There is no such thing as tragedy. This cuts the nerve of every really great achievement.

Consciousness of evil as evil, not as mere ignorance,

is the deepest conviction of the human race. Unless evil is possible there can be no 'virtue, no merit, no honor. Nature cannot sin, but nature also cannot be moral. The laws of chemistry are as exactly obeyed when an apple rots as when it ripens; there is here neither vice nor virtue. Remove these factors from our conception of human life and what do we have left? Where is the dignity of character, the inspiration of victory, the remorse for wrongdoing?

No, the sin of the world is not ignorance, but a wrong investment. Evil men do not want to know the truth; they do not want to follow it. It is not a condition of universal friendship, where one man's interests are identical with all others, only now and then a little misunderstanding; but it is a condition of hostility. There are powers of evil antagonizing righteousness, and it is worth the career of noble young men to aid in downing iniquity. Christ and Paul were not visionary. A great principle is at stake. Shall society be dominated by selfishness or by righteousness? This superficial optimism is the most dangerous foe of our age; it is an anæsthetic that puts to sleep the conscience of the community. Nothing so worked to bring the downfall of Rome as the faith in the destiny of the eternal city. And nothing will so contribute to bring the downfall of a republic as the conviction that the only trouble with any age is a little ignorance which progress in science will clear up.

But why have so many able men made such a blunder as to suppose that there was no actual warfare in society? We reply that it is due to the habit of abstraction. They have dealt, not with the individual

life as it is lived, but with averages, and this has been thus far fatal to progress in sociology.

Mallock criticises sociology by saying that heretofore it has not been a practical science. The physicist gives formulæ that are of the greatest value to the manufacturer or the bridge builder. The astronomer calculates an eclipse to a moment and predicts the tides for navigation. But the sociologist would never be consulted for the sake of determining how one's private life should be ordered. What is the cause of this? The answer is because sociology has been wholly occupied with averages; and life is not lived with averages, but with individual peculiarities.

Let us suppose that we report a battle in South Africa in terms of the average distance that the bullets come from a certain soldier. One is one hundred feet off; another two hundred feet; another twenty; another strikes the heart. Now the average of all the bullets, including the one that hit a soldier, fired in a certain battle, would probably be some hundreds or thousands of feet off, and that is a pretty safe distance. But nothing could be more misleading. The one that hits is the one that counts. Danger is not a question of averages.

You may admit that the progress of inventions gives an increasing advantage to the laboring classes; that while it brings some losses, on the average it brings greater gains. But can this question be discussed on the basis of averages? Let us suppose that a clerk has a salary of \$1000 a year and quite a family to support, and that his income barely pays necessary expenses. He speculates in Wall Street and makes \$500 this year. Never was money more welcome. New clothing, new furniture, and a much-needed

vacation use up every cent of it. Next year he speculates and makes another \$500. He may use this for a trip to Paris. But next year he speculates and loses \$500. You can see what this means to his family. The algebraic sum of his speculation is a plus \$500. But this loss this year is in no way made up by the good fortune of earlier times. This loss is like the bullet that hit the soldier. Where is the children's bread coming from now? The street-car line, postal delivery, reduction in the price of clothes bring great comfort to a compositor's family for years. Then the linotype displaces him and he is reduced to the rank of unskilled labor. This one loss is the thing that counts; it means loss of livelihood. Add up what he has gained during the years past and it will surpass his present misfortune. But the two are incomparable. Do we not find here a partial explanation of conservatism? Are the Chinese wholly wrong in resisting progress, though it brings great advantages in the long run?

But, leaving the economic question aside, every man has duties to society for which he will get practically no compensation. Their performance must be a sacrifice, or they will not get done. If not performed, society cannot progress. For instance, sanitation. If the health board do their duty, they are going to make some landlords provoked. If they do not do their duty, there will be sickness in the community and some poor people will die. This duty must be a sacrifice or it will not be done. This same is true of college settlements. The slums cannot be elevated by merely giving them money. Your own personal effort is needed, as Christ gave His own personal presence to humanity. But you will not receive

compensation therefor; it will be a sacrifice on your part. The same with resistance to political corruption; the same with suppression of vice. Will mere utility of the individual be a sufficient motive for faithful effort, or will it produce a Tammany?

THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORDER

XV

AUTHORITY AND PUNISHMENT¹

IN studying punishment we are studying the principle of authority, just as Newton studied the apple and found the laws of science.

Our first proposition is that all pain is not punishment. If the proper authority should inflict punishment on the righteous man, it would not be punishment; it would be injustice. Suffering is a means and not an end.

Coming now to theories of punishment, we have a phrase that a person "paid the debt," or that he "ought to have suffered." Taken literally, what does it mean? If you pay the debt, there has been an exchange. Some of the consequences may be undone, and some may not. But if the idea is to right a wrong which has been committed, it is useless, because the wrong, considered as a moral deed, cannot be undone. So (1) punishment is not to right a wrong. Two wrongs never can make a right. Why

¹ The material under this title is taken from stenographic notes made by a member of the Class of 1893. The editor has transposed sentences and occasionally introduced a connecting word or phrase where this seemed necessary to make the meaning clearer. The passage should be compared with the two following papers, which touch on the same topic. Professor Garman considered his treatment of these topics to be perhaps his most important contribution, but unfortunately he left no complete printed account.

should this individual be made to suffer because he has made others suffer?

(2) Is punishment to reform? Then the criminal by his crime would put the state under obligation to do the best for his health, and this might be to send him to Europe and give him an education. A poor man who had n't had an education might commit a crime and make the state educate him.

(3) Is punishment to prevent a man from doing a deed again? We kill a man for committing a murder; then why did n't we kill him before he committed the murder? Cannot you go down into the slums of New York and pick out the men who would commit murder if they had the chance? That's the way Russia does, is n't it? Now who is there in the whole crowd that, under temptation enough, would n't be a dangerous person to have around? When the woman taken in adultery was brought to Jesus, He said, "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her." And then they began to think that if they were enough tempted they would n't be quite safe, and they skulked out, from the greatest to the least. And yet we hear over and over again that punishment is to protect the state. That may be an effect of it, as the growing of the grass is an effect of the shining of the sun. We are after the *nature* of punishment now.

(4) May not punishment be to prevent *others* from committing crime? We will make an example of the criminal. Once in English history a judge sentenced a man for stealing sheep. The judge said: "You are not punished because *you* steal sheep, but in order that sheep may not be stolen." The reply was, "What's that to me, sir?" Gentlemen, where you make one suffer for the wrong of another, do you call

that punishment or martyrdom? Is that justice or injustice? The criminal may say: If others were not so frail and so weak, I should not have to suffer. It may be *expedient*. So stealing works admirably sometimes. In this case there is no ethics to it. But *then* you are really claiming that this whole system of government is wrong through and through; that might makes right. And when you come to the question of might, you can see that the individual has powers that society has not, *e. g.*, the individual can hide himself, society cannot.

You say you have got to have punishment, or the state will go to smash. But is it *right*? If we hold that might is right, then we are Nihilists. Similarly, God's authority has generally been taken on the principle that might makes right, but, if it does with God, it does with us. If we are Nihilists, let us say so right out.

What, then, is authority? Stating it first in the most general form, we say authority is nothing more nor less than the constitutional reaction on the individual by the universe. The action of nature is always to reward when we live in harmony with it, and to punish us when we do not. The motion of my hand when I bring it down on the table is a deed which is a resultant of my own action on the one side and all the forces in the universe on the other. This is constitutional. But if you and I exist in the universe, we are parts of the universe, and it is not "We ought to act on the universe," but "We do act on the universe." Leave out the question of divine sovereignty now, and consider your own. My proposition is that we belong to the same universe; not that we ought to, but that we do.

But, you object, action and reaction are merely constitutional, not ethical. I reply: Our action on the universe does n't take place without knowledge. Our physical bodies act without knowledge. But you do not reply to me without knowing something. The physical reacts automatically and immediately, but the mental requires time; there must be thought. The physical reaction is always "right" — in a physical sense of the term.

But human action is liable to mistake. There is in mere physical reaction no ethical foundation for the state, no ethical basis for authority. There is no ethics in my mere existence. The ethics begins with the problem as to *how* I shall act. The question of how you shall use this authority is a question of ethics. Our proposition is that an individual shall do nothing that is not a deed of spiritual health and life. And secondly, every individual must do a deed when any one else does a deed. See how this holds.

Take a policeman. Suppose I am injuring you. He sees me, but will not do anything. But he then lets me do it and becomes an accomplice. If he says, "I am not going to meddle with that fight," by that very statement he allows it to go on. It is impossible for him to avoid doing something, but the question is, What he shall do. So we see there is always reaction. When I do a deed, the entire universe reacts. Punishments and rewards are results. Punishment is reaction in the line of resistance. Rewarding is in the line of assistance.

But if the Universal reacts in the line of resistance, what becomes of the independent entity? If he should actually resist us through and through, where should we be? James says in the lesson assigned for

to-day that there is no hell like living in the world and being unrecognized; that is, being in the universe and not being reacted upon. If we could n't appropriate anything in the universe, where should we be? Thus "the wages of sin is death." The logical outcome is instant annihilation. Resistance ends in annihilation. That means annihilation of the spirit. But do not introduce the question of future punishment here.

Can transgressions be forgiven? There are various interpretations of forgiveness. The empirical effect is the same, — the penalty is not inflicted. So, is it possible for the Divine Being to react in the line of resistance and yet do so without inflicting the punishment? It is not a question of avoiding the reaction. If the reaction is in the line of resistance and at the same time brings misfortune on the sinner, he does not have any more chance.

If forgiveness is possible, then God is just while He justifies. "Just" means that He reacts in the line of full resistance and yet remits the penalty. If this is possible, there may be forgiveness of sins; if not, there can be none. There must be resistance. The whole question is whether or not it is possible to resist the sinner without killing him. If not, there is no chance for his salvation, because the element of time does not enter into Divine Justice as it does into human. When the Divine Being reacts, it is an event in history. Historically considered, the above is the atonement.

Atonement means (a) sovereignty of God, *e. g.*, since He is omniscient He must assist the right and resist the wrong, or aid and abet.

(b) Herein we discover the power of Christianity.

Stoicism holds out a high ideal, but what does it accomplish? Why toil? Ask yourself. If a lesson is assigned to the class, but they are informed that there will be no recitation, no approval if they are faithful, no disapproval if they neglect it, I ask you whether it is as easy to do scholarly work as when your work is sure to be reviewed and judged? Why have inter-collegiate debates? You might work up the subject of labor unions by yourself and thoroughly master it. If you did you would get the discipline. How many students in college are likely to do it? The same of commencement orations. Your nature demands sovereignty. You feel the need of it; you cannot do without it. Modern religion does not offer sovereignty, and see its weakness. Christianity asserts it. See its power even in the decaying civilization of Rome. See the steadfastness of the early Christians under fire. What is it due to?

(c) Atonement means justice. What is justice? Not the prevention of evil. That is impossible unless you prevent the good also, since man must be free to do either if he is to be man. But justice is aiding the right and resisting the wrong, every time.

Then what, finally, is authority? It is the realization of the state. And what is the state? The state is the condition of action and reaction between all parts of the universe, which is due because they are *creatures, i. e.*, dependent entities. How does it realize itself? Through ethics; that is the process, the *how*. If every person does wrong, that is no reason why I should do wrong. If they do right and I do right, that is rewarding. If they do wrong and I do right, that is in the line of punishment.

Do we need authority? The only condition on

which I can become moral is that my fellow-man be moral.

No man can know for me; no man can feel for me. I must know for myself. Otherwise, what marvelous students we should have here in college, for the faculty are certainly as interested and faithful as possible in the class room. Now, could God create an individual with a completely developed intelligence and character? If He did, that character would not be the man's own. So development is absolutely necessary to character. Then for the fulfillment of the divine plan we certainly need authority. Suppose the parent lets the child do just as it pleases; then the peace of that household is very much disturbed. And if different individuals are left to do as they please in the universe, so will the peace of this universal household be disturbed.

Spirit *must* act in harmony with the nature of the Universal. The only question is whether it acts in harmony, considering all the questions or only a part. Emerson says, "The entire aim of the sinful man is abstraction." As in the case of the licentious man, he does n't think of his deeds in relation to the whole universe. "What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." All sin is an attempt to divorce. Animals cannot sin because they have no self-consciousness. But while having self-consciousness, if we recognize only our animal nature, we sin, we abstract.

We recognize this in our social relations. If we deal with a man simply as a laborer, we treat him as a part, we abstract. This is largely the trouble with our social questions, — we deal with men only on business relations. But they are something more than

business men. So we abstract, and become antagonized by the rest of nature.

A GENERAL FORMULA OF ALL MENTAL AND
SPIRITUAL LIFE

It is a general law of all mental life that consciousness of self is possible only through consciousness of objects. A similar law holds in moral life and the social order. We may state this in the formula, A determines himself never directly, but always through B, *i. e.*, a man determines his character and personality by the attitude and relations he assumes towards his world of nature and persons.¹

If A determines himself through B, then there are only four possible spheres of life for A, due to the four possible conditions of B, since A's life will be limited to the change in B:

1. B may be strong and do right.
2. B may be strong and do wrong.
3. B may be weak and do right.
4. B may be weak and do wrong.

Every phase of life comes in here.

(1) is the sphere of business, where action and reaction should be equal; (2) is the sphere of punishment, where the action must take the form of *resistance* to the wrongdoer; (3) is the sphere of charity, where the strong must help the weak; (4) is the sphere for the atonement, where the strong must resist by assistance. Under these four heads come nearly all the questions of the later part of the course.

¹ The phrasing of this paragraph is the Editor's; the following is supplied from Professor Newlin's notes.

XVI

SOVEREIGNTY FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THEISM ¹

THE common view makes the individual first and relationships secondary. Of course this is so. How could there be a relationship unless there were some things to be related? No relationship is necessary; surely not that involved in sovereignty. If you hold these premises, only one motive can influence the individual, and that is expediency. Liberty, equality, fraternity are simply forms of courtesy; they mean nothing. When it comes to the test, self-preference is the ultimate motive. If two men are on a spar drowning, one will push the other off, and that one will be the stronger. Might makes right. There is, therefore, no mean between anarchy and tyranny. The successful man is the tyrant, the under dog in the fight is the anarchist. This is the last word on all governmental and social problems the moment you tell truth. It is not expedient to do so always. Might includes trick and diplomacy and shrewdness, yes, and lying too, quite as much as physical power.

The theistic view is a startling paradox. It affirms that the relationship is first and that the individual is its product. This is all of the subject the common man will care to know. Such a view is moonshine, a mere theory. Wit is a discoverer of incongruities

¹ A pamphlet from the later years.

of a certain type, and nothing is more incongruous with the common view than this doctrine. From the days of Plato to the present time it has been a fair target for ridicule. But let us look at the facts. If man is a dependent being, his relationship to God is that which gives him existence. Can a wave continue to be if it leaves the water? Can a thought exist apart from the person who thinks it? Secondly, if all other things are dependent on God, they necessarily determine each other. What the Divine Being already has done conditions Him in His next act. Illustrate by a republican government. If the people have formed a constitution, they are limited by it. If they have elected a republican President, that determines the administration for the next four years. If they give judicial power to the Supreme Court, they cannot at the same time bestow it on Congress and the President. Then the court would mean nothing. The veto power of the President is determined by the form of government. Destroy the republic, and substitute despotism on the one hand or anarchy on the other, and where is the veto power? The several parts of government do not first exist and then come together to make a whole called democracy, but the conception of the whole is in the minds of the people first, and their attempt to realize it creates subordinate parts. If God is a person, His intelligence works backwards as truly as ours. He has a plan for the whole, a design, and the particular individuals He creates are called into being by the demands of that plan. They will exist only so long as they are necessary to that plan, and when they serve it no longer they will cease to be. This is the universal law of intelligence. You hire a janitor, or a porter, or a cook, or a guide

only when and so long as these are required for you to carry out your schemes, and when they have done their work their function ceases. But this is only saying that the relationship is first and the office that a person holds is its product. Now let us test the case and see if facts do not verify this illustration. Take our physical life. Does a man first exist and then come into certain relationships? Take those of the physical world, *e. g.*, that of gravitation. Does a man at a definite time in his life conclude to submit himself to this particular law, or must gravitation be first, in order for the man to exist at all? Suspend gravitation for a moment and what would happen to him? Not a particle of atmosphere would enter his lungs, all the finer blood-vessels would instantly burst when the pressure was removed, and the rotation of the earth would whirl him off in a tangent into empty space at the rate of a thousand miles an hour. Take those relationships that are expressed by chemical affinity. Suspend these and what would become of nutrition, and how long would a man exist if there were no chemical action at all in his physical frame? Suspend the law of cause and effect and what could man do for himself? When he put out his foot to walk the ground would offer no resistance. When he sat down the chair would give him no support. When he turned his eyes towards the sun it would give him no sensations of sight. Neither could he have hearing, touch, taste, or smell. When we say that these relationships are first we mean logically rather than chronologically. Chronologically they are simultaneous, as cause and effect always are. If a cause ceased to exist before the effect came into being, then this would be an event without a cause.

Let us discuss mental relations. Most people think that personality is a unity, just like gold; that one is passively personal, therefore one could act as a personal being even if everything else in the world were annihilated. But this is superficial. Personality is always an achievement, not gained once for all, but requiring infinite repetition. A personal being is simply a conscious being whose consciousness has reached the grade in which it knows itself. But power reveals itself only in work done. If the self did nothing, it could not be self-conscious. The grade of self-consciousness is determined, then, by the amount the self does, not once for all, way back in the past, but continually. Hence our personality is fluctuating with our activity. When an orator outdoes himself he rises to a very high level of personality; when he fails he sinks pretty low in his own estimation. Now there are only three kinds of activity possible: knowing or thinking, feeling, and willing. Let us take thinking, since we cannot very well will or feel until we know. You cannot think without thinking about something, either objects about you or ideas that you originate. If you have no objects either in nature or in imagination, then you have no thought, no personality. This is what is meant by the statement, "Consciousness of subject is possible only through consciousness of object." One step more. Imagination is not really creative. A blind man cannot create color; a man born deaf cannot create sound. Unless in childhood nature actually existed and related herself to us in a causal way, producing sensations in us as our earliest objects, we never could have begun the personal life. Here we are, then. Relationship is logically first and personality is its product. A child born deaf, dumb,

and blind, without taste, smell, or touch, would never become personal.

But you must go farther than this. So far we have touched only the animal existence. If a child is not instructed by his parents and those about him, if he were left alone on an island and by some accident succeeded in maintaining a physical life, he would become insane, not personal. Shepherds who are alone with their flocks for an indefinite period suffer degeneration. It is the contact of mind with mind that is the only condition of a human life. This is only saying that the perfection of the subject depends upon the perfection of its objects. Our social relations, including family relations, are first, and sanity is the product. We consider it a personal loss when our friends die; it takes away just so much of our personality. Here, then, is the great fact concerning our existence. In no instance can we free ourselves from the law that the relationship is first and we are the product, and our life continues only so long as the relationship continues. This is the formula: A determines B and B determines A; that is, A never determines himself directly, but only through B. If you walk you act upon the ground, it reacts, giving you support, and you move forward. If you row you act upon the water, and only when it reacts does your boat move. When you think, mind must act upon the brain, and only when the brain reacts upon the mind is there a continuation of consciousness. That is the reason we are here in college. We cannot educate ourselves. We are inspired and lifted up by our contact with each other. It will be seen, then, that the whole is very different from an aggregation of parts. The civil compact theory affirms that because one man

has no prerogative over another, society can have no prerogative over the individual, because society is made up of individuals and the whole cannot be greater than the sum of the parts. Nothing is more ridiculous than this system. The workmen who handled every brick at the brickyard which went into the structure of the new laboratory have had nothing whatever to do with the laboratory itself. The laboratory is not a pile of bricks, but those bricks in a particular relationship; you may take out every brick and substitute an entirely different individual, and if you preserve just this relationship you have exactly the same laboratory. There is not a student here in college who was here ten years ago, and not all of the faculty are the same, yet it is the same college. There is not a man alive now who existed when the Constitution of the United States was first adopted, and yet this is the same nation. Society is not composed of individuals; society is a relationship by virtue of which individuals come into existence and without which they would have no being as personal.

We may now ask: What is this relationship which constitutes sovereignty, and how is it that on our new premises sovereignty does not de-personalize the individual? Sovereignty is a particular relationship which is not created by man and which he cannot divest himself of. By virtue of this relationship only does he become personal. Let us see if we can find this particular relationship. Suppose an ocean liner trying to break its record. When passing the Newfoundland banks it discovers a shipwrecked sailor afloat on a spar half a mile off. All eyes see him and bring him to the notice of the captain. What of it? An interesting sight, no doubt, gives them something to talk

about and breaks up the tedium of the voyage. That sailor is a foreigner. What do people on that steamer care for him or his life? And yet their knowledge of his situation makes it impossible for them to go on their way and leave him there without becoming murderers. Here is the simple law. Man is so constituted that there is a peculiar relationship between his intellect and his will, and when he knows, he is obliged to act. *How* he acts is decided by the will if it is free, but the will cannot decide whether it will act or not under such conditions as are now present. That ship captain has got to stop his vessel, lose his record, and save that sailor, or be a murderer. He may care as little as he pleases for the sailor, but if he cares for his own moral character he will stop that ship. This is not a matter of his choosing. He abominates the whole predicament. But there he is, and he has only one question before him, *How* will he act? Take another case. A policeman standing on the corner of a street in the rough part of a city sees a scoundrel assault a woman who makes desperate resistance. The moment the policeman knows what is going on, he, too, must act. If he stands there and renders no assistance, he is an accomplice of the criminal, aiding and abetting him in his crime, that is, he too, becomes criminal. He may regret extremely the necessity that is upon him, but he cannot escape by doing nothing. In some way he must act, and the only question is, *How*. If the ship captain or the policeman had not known what was going on, the dilemma would not have arisen, but the moment knowledge comes, sovereignty begins. We may see this more clearly in the case of the assassination of Lincoln. When Booth had made his escape any man who recognized him

and failed to report him was considered as his accomplice, aiding and abetting Booth and resisting the government. Such an accomplice was liable to the extreme penalty of the law. See how embarrassing was the position. If a person had not recognized him, had not known anything about the crime, there would have been no occasion for action. But when circumstances placed the individual where he had the knowledge, then he entered into a new life; either he became a criminal himself or he became an avenger of the martyred President. No longer could he be inactive. This is the penalty he pays for being personal. To be personal is to be sovereign. When circumstances conspire to bring a matter in the sphere of our knowledge, then we have to interfere, either in the line of aiding and abetting or in that of resisting. This is the only sovereignty that can exist consistently with personality. The question of how we shall aid or how we shall resist is wholly a question of means. We may do it in an organized form and then we shall have government, or we may do so without a form of organization and then we have simply society, but in both cases we have sovereignty.

Sovereignty, we may say, then, is the interference of one individual with the affairs of another individual, either in the line of resisting or in that of assisting. You will see that it does not depend upon any compact any more than the attraction of the earth by the sun depends upon compact. You see that it is only a form of that relationship of cause and effect by virtue of which personal life is possible. Sovereignty simply postulates that the mind is a cause in the universe as truly as matter, the only difference being, matter can work automatically without intelligence, mind can

work only when it is intelligent. Matter can act only one way, that is, it is fated. Mind can work either rightly or wrongly if you have free will. But when man does wrong he interferes with his fellow-man and exercises sovereignty as truly as when he does right, unless you please to define sovereignty as right interference, and tyranny as wrong interference. It seems to be better, however, to speak of sovereignty as interference. Human sovereignty has limits, but they are simply limits of knowledge and ability. Our ability is much more limited than our knowledge. Many things which we know about we have not strength enough to remedy; hence we aid and abet them unwillingly. Other things we are not skillful enough to remedy, but should do greater evil if we attempted it. The ordinary man is not skillful enough to perform an operation upon appendicitis, and if, on a hunting tour, he is with his friend who is taken ill in this way, he would have to allow him to die a natural death rather than to torture him to death by a bungling operation. These are simply the limitations of finiteness. They do not exist with God, who is the ideal sovereign, and who cannot know human deeds without interfering either in the line of aiding or in that of resisting them.

We have now a sixth theory for punishment. Why do we punish the criminal? The reply is, We never punish the deed but only the doer. We punish only when we cannot help acting, when we are obliged to assist or resist the criminal. Punishment is the resistance of the wrongdoer. Assistance to the right doer is the reward. Now why do we punish? Not for the sake of vengeance, or reformation, or retribution, or prevention, in the historic meaning of that word, but simply for our own sake. If we are in

such circumstances that we must act, we will act rightly, whether others do or not. Suppose a woman is assaulted by a tramp; why would she resist him? Why — because she must either resist or assist. He is strong and she is weak; her resistance may not be effectual so far as the crime is concerned, but it will be so far as her character is concerned. President Seelye was quite fond of a quotation from Goethe, “Man may treat woman shamefully, but he can never make her ashamed.” That is the secret of all punishment. If others do wrong there is no reason why we should when we are forced to act. The Spartans at Thermopylæ won the admiration of history, not because their defense was successful, but because they died game. They would do nothing to aid the invaders of their own land. Now the deepest insight of human nature recognizes the truth of this position. When a person is insulted by another without resenting the insult, we have no respect for him whatever; if he consents to that insult he then insults himself too. How he is to resent it is not the proper question, but he must resent it in some way or aid and abet and thus insult himself; this every one sees. Here is the dignity and grandeur of life, and man can never be placed in any circumstances where he cannot be manly to the full measure of his intelligence. Even the newsboy has no respect for his mates when they fail to insist upon their own honor by resenting degrading treatment from another. This is punishment; because when you are forced to act, if you act rightly while the person on whom you act is acting wrongly, there will be a collision, and pain inflicted as a result of sovereignty. But you see that it is not vicarious. Others indeed may take warning and not

collide with us. But that is a by-product. If there was only one transgressor in the universe and we were so situated that we could not avoid assisting or resisting him, we should be under just as much obligation to resist as though every one were an evil doer. Our sole motive, if righteous, would be, not to cause him to suffer, but to prevent becoming criminal ourselves. The converse is true, also. Why do we reward good conduct? Why did the whole world honor Queen Victoria at her death? Not because it did her any good, but because the knowledge of that event required some action on their part, and reverence and respect as opposed to indifference and insult was the only manly conduct. Self-respect was the true explanation. All noble-minded people feel that they degrade themselves when they do not render "honor to whom honor is due." The question, then, What kind of treatment shall we receive from different classes of society? is easily answered. Frederick Douglass affirms that Lincoln was the only man who treated him in such a way as to make him forget he was colored. A mob would not do this, and you easily see the reason. The person who has no respect for himself cannot be relied upon to be courteous towards others. It is seen, therefore, that sovereignty is a very much broader term than government. Government is only a very particular administration of sovereignty under certain conditions.

XVII

THE MEMBERS OF THE STATE¹

PROP. 1. In all cases the first consideration must be the needs of the State. There are two conditions in which it may be: (a) "*Health*," *i. e.*, where all the members of the organism are relatively equal (not that they have the same abilities, but that in its own sphere the lowest is as well able to perform its particular kind of work as the most exalted to achieve its more important and therefore more honorable task); (b) "*Disease*," where from ignorance or vice, or through misfortune, some parts of the organism are incapacitated for service.

PROP. 2. In the condition of health of the entire organism we ascertain the kind and amount of service due from the individual by considering primarily his *ability*, and after that his opportunities.

Since the organism has been created according to a perfect plan, any difference of endowments or of functions in its parts is not an accident, but has been determined by the needs of the whole. In 1 Cor. 12 : 18, we read, "But now hath God set the members every one of them in the body, as it hath pleased him." If the diversities of gifts have a divine origin, as the apostle affirms, a man is not to despise any honest profession in life for which he is supremely fitted. He has no right to look on the ministry as a sacred calling and on all others as profane, but rather

¹ From a pamphlet of 1889, entitled "Obligation."

must he consider every occupation, from that of day laborer to that of a sovereign on his throne, as a position for rendering service to the state. The powers that be are [all] ordained of God. To spoil an excellent business man or scientist or inventor to make a poor preacher is as much of an injury to the Kingdom of God as it would be to a physical body for the hand to refuse to do manual labor that might callous the fingers, and insist on doing by sense of touch the work of the eye. In case of blindness nothing could be more desirable, but in a perfectly sound body what could be more ridiculous? This is not merely a duty to the state but also to one's self, for nowhere can one attain spiritual life so absolutely as where he can be most successful. Every man must make a success of what he undertakes or the result is disastrous to his own manhood.

PROP. 3. *Opportunities.* It is to be observed that these constitute a factor in the problem of determining the service a man owes to the state. I owe no service to the inhabitants of the planets, simply because I can render none. Professor Harris says that this is the true explanation of Christ's command, Love thy neighbor as and including thyself. "Who is my neighbor?" This Christ answered, in the parable of the Good Samaritan, as being any person in need, even of a different nationality, who comes within our reach.

PROP. 4. Where opportunities and needs are equal, service is most efficient to our nearest neighbor; then here lies our first duty.

Under these conditions, since a man is his own nearest neighbor, his first duties are to himself and the members of his family. 1 Tim. 5 : 8, "But if any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his

own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel."

It is commonly supposed that anything done for self is not a labor of love for the state, that we ought to deny self. A soldier in the front ranks who should follow out this idea would refuse to ask for ammunition for himself, or to defend his own post, for fear that he might be acting under self-interest. The truth is he is not his own, but a member of the army; he asks for cartridges, not as a personal favor, but as a means to serve the army. To fail to do this is to be a traitor and to be worse than an enemy. He risks the whole in risking himself.

PROP. 5. Where the organism is in a condition of disease, *i. e.*, where the needs of all are not relatively equal, the former order must be reversed, and the individual consider first the *opportunities* for serving the needs of others, and secondly his ability. Illustrate by the hands doing the work of the eye in case of blindness. From this point of view, explain 1 Cor. 12: 14-20.

PROP. 6. Business is the action and reaction in the state under conditions of equality. The law is that each person engaged in the transaction must be both means and end. This occurs only when the service rendered is an equivalent for the service received. This is justice, and only this can be allowed by the organism. Observe that such a transaction under the conditions is as truly a "*labor of love*," that is, as truly conforms to the requirements of the organic unity, as charity and martyrdom under different conditions.

PROP. 7. Charity is the action and reaction that takes place in the state under conditions of relative inequality on the part of those engaged. It is a con-

dition of a diseased organism. The law of charity is that, for the time being, the strong shall help the weak without recompense, *i. e.*, shall be means, not end, until the condition of health is restored. If the hand is diseased the body must heal it, and, in the mean time, give it rest. This may be a severer test, but is no more a labor of love than is business. Charity under conditions of relative equality is as truly a crime as dishonesty. 2 Thess. 3:10: "For even when we were with you, this we commanded you, that if any would not work neither should he eat."

XVIII

THE RIGHT OF PROPERTY¹

THE right of property is exactly the doctrine of the state. It is the right of the dependent entity to the independent on which it depends. That surely touches the question of individual ownership. My ownership in my body is necessarily individual, cannot be anything else. We find that there are other parts of the universe which the individual cannot control without the help of others, *e. g.*, a home. I have no home alone, none except another shall be associated with me. It is very clear that the home belongs not to the individual, but to the partnership. On the other hand, it is clear that there is some property which is essentially individual. The orange I have for dinner can belong only to me, not to the copartnership. But the streets which I walk cannot be mine alone. You have now reached your extremes. On the one hand, there are parts which we necessarily appropriate alone; others which we cannot without the help of others.

Now the question of whether land is the former or the latter is the question of our appropriating it. Can you appropriate land alone? Some of it you must. The place on which you stand, you alone can stand on. But there is a difference between appropriating and owning. Suppose I bought up the whole world. But can I use it myself? Is it possible for me thus to

¹ From stenographic notes, 1893. See footnote to No. XV.

appropriate the universe to any great extent alone, or must I not get help?

In the matter of our sanitary conditions we are necessarily partners: we must have the help of others. It is called taxation when the state makes us work together, because we can do nothing otherwise. Or, to protect the country against foreign invasion, military service is required. Taxation in money is only one kind of service. Military service is another, nursing in the hospital is another. If you don't tax children for money, it is because the children have n't the money to give. If you don't tax women for military service, it is because they are not fit to give it.

How much may the state tax? All that it needs. On the other hand, when I am in need and in danger, how much may I tax the state? All that I need. I can call on the entire state to help me. You cannot hold onto the basis of demanding an equivalent for what you give in taxing. For the fact is that the more the state taxes, as in time of war, the less you get in return.

Christ had the true idea, — that of stewardship. Each individual has a right to serve the state to his full capacity and so act right to the reaction of the state. But if the state cannot react, then you do not get an equivalent.

If all property is a mode in which the state — the system of social relationships — becomes realized, then the question of individual control and state (not government) control vanishes. All property must be under state control; it is only a question of how the state shall control it. One bank may be under government control and the other not, but you can-

not say one is under state control and the other is not. Have n't you seen places where the banks have been infinitely better controlled by the state than the post-office has been? When the state brings in government to help control, it still cannot take away individual control. The post-office is in the hands of individuals, and so would the railroads be if they were put under the government. The whole question, thus, is whether you can control this property better without the aid of government or not. The whole drift and tendency is towards the state without government. For government is more or less a mediate agency, and so there is more or less of friction. My body is under my control. Generally the state can get better control of it without the aid of government, but in time of war, with government. If I am very selfish and very ugly, the state has to control me by the aid of government. So great corporations have to be controlled through government, if they are very grasping.

The larger part of our great enterprises have been undertaken by individuals. Bellamy makes a great mistake here. He says these things should be put under the control, not of the state, but of the government, and the people would be inspired to do much better work. But our savage ancestor was much averse to work, was lazy. So Bellamy must change human nature in order to have his scheme work. The idea of the honorableness of labor is something yet new in the world, and has not reached some parts of Europe. How is Bellamy going to overcome all these influences of heredity inside of a few centuries?

In spiritual things there is no conflict in appropriating the entire universe. Others are not excluded. The artist who paints a picture makes something

which all may admire. All through spiritual things, the more others appropriate them, the more we can appropriate them. Some say this does n't hold in material things. But if you appropriate for *service*, then others can appropriate the things you do when you serve them. It is only in regard to immediate wants, as the supply of food, that there is this contradiction, and it is only apparent. These immediate wants seem to contradict. The orange has got to be individual. The question is, To whom does it belong? The reply is, To him who appropriates it. We appropriate the universe by service. Now, if we have appropriated nature, it is ours, and another person can have a claim to it only by appropriating, *i. e.*, serving us. Here comes in our relation of buying and selling, or partnership.

How about the quantity of property? How much may I have? All I can appropriate. But it is injustice to try to own what I cannot appropriate. That is the root of all our labor troubles. What is it to appropriate? If I appropriate food, I make it a part of myself. To appropriate the cane in my hand, I make it a part of myself by extradition of consciousness. But I am a part of the state. My aim is to serve the state. Thus the more I have, the more I serve the state; so I don't rob the state. On this basis, there can be no labor troubles. Are the students jealous of the college when the college increases its power of serving them? Not at all. And the same of the poor and the rich.

When a man tries to own that which he cannot use, he is preventing others from its use. If I own one thousand acres of land and can use only one, then there are nine hundred and ninety-nine which are taken

away from others. It must be the highest service. To appropriate it means not to use it for my own benefit, but to make it a part of myself and so serve the state. Now, when a man can use a hundred million dollars or a hundred thousand men in war for the good of the state, he has a perfect right to appropriate them. Hence there is some justification for taking land from the Indians, because the Indians hold land but do not appropriate it.

But there is great objection to allowing an individual to own property which he does not use for service. If I make one thousand acres into a park simply for hunting, I take away land from wheat-raising. But this is more true of human beings than of land. Suppose I am a rich man, and have half a dozen homes and summer cottages, and so must have many men to serve me. But they are withdrawn from production. There are one thousand less farmers or day laborers or business men or perhaps students. If I have a hundred servants to attend to my special wants, take care of my wardrobe, and do things which I have leisure for and could just as well do for myself, you see they are not copartners with, but are withdrawn from, the service of the community. This much has to be said against the methods of using our wealth. It means not that the money is destroyed, for that is not the more serious trouble, but that service is lost. So it may be said of keeping standing armies. It may be necessary to keep them if there is danger of attack. But that is due to the iniquity of human nature. It is only a negative service. But suppose that there was no such iniquity, and that France, Germany, and Austria kept their millions of soldiers. They would be withdrawn from necessary service,

and so humanity would be going backward there and forward in America.

Service and furnishing employment are two different things. Suppose I should arrange pieces of paper on this desk, — a million of them, perhaps, after the fashion of the Sibyls. And suppose I should leave the windows open so the papers should blow all over, and then make you put them in order every morning. Would that be employment or service?

Some employment may keep people from a state of suffering, and may keep idle hands busy. But why should not all employment be in the line of service, of public improvements instead of useless work for some rich man? Is there any excuse for this at all? Not an iota, and I want you to preach this belief when you get out of college.

SOCIAL PROGRESS

XIX

SCIENTIFIC IDEALS AND SOCIAL PRACTICE¹

It is easy for students to misunderstand an attempt to study society by scientific methods. It seems to them all theory, a theory that never can be actually realized in practical life.

When a new man-of-war is put into commission, newspapers give a detailed account of the ship, in which they include the "indicated horse-power." This is figured out according to scientific methods; but most readers do not believe that in actual daily usage such energy could ever be developed. They think it infinitely better to know the number of horse-power available in a crisis than to have so much stress laid on scientific figures. So students are quite anxious to know the actual facts concerning society, the world in which they have got to live; but the scientific sociology which presents the ideals of social life seems to them extremely visionary.

This point of view is a great mistake, one of the most serious a young man can make. In the account of the man-of-war above referred to, the problem is entirely different from that with which we are confronted in the study of sociology. A warship is a huge fighting machine to be used to the best advantage, and that is all. It is practically a changeless thing, if we

¹ A manuscript. A similar line of thought was presented in two pamphlets.

except the slight wear due to use. But society is not a means to an end, but an end in itself. Neither is it mechanical; it is organic and never any two years the same. What it is and in what directions it changes depend very largely upon the ideals that possess the community. Change those ideals, as Luther did at the time of the Reformation, as Christ did at the time when Pharisaism was fossilizing the Jewish nation, and the whole course of social development is different.

When the negro slave, before the Civil War, left his master's plantation, and, hiding in the swamps by day, traveled night after night with his eye fixed on the North Star, he did not expect ever to reach that star; but by going in that direction he did hope to get out of the "house of bondage" into the land of freedom, where manhood was not determined by the color of one's skin. Was the North Star, because it was out of his reach, therefore of no practical importance to him? Was some candle that he could actually take hold of and carry with him, one that would light up the swamp at his feet better for his purpose? Is there no analogy between this and the ideals of a constantly growing civilization? Is our aim in sociology to know simply just what society is now? or do we aspire to find the path of progress? not merely to explore the social swamp, but rather to find the way out? History is full of the wreckage of social life; both nations and individuals have found it terribly hard both to make progress and to retain the little that they have made. It is said that when a fugitive gets lost he naturally travels in a circle, and, when he thinks he has put miles between himself and his pursuer, he finds that, after hours and hours of travel, he is back at just the place he started from. Is there no natural

tendency in the moral life of the individual, or the social life of the times, to move thus in a circle, and lose all the advantage that has been gained?

Let me beg the students not to underestimate the ideal in sociology because they do properly discount it in machinery. In the latter, the ideal is simply descriptive, but in society the ideal is creative.

Physical impulses are automatic and take care of themselves. Therefore a student jumps to a conclusion that a man's moral life will take care of itself in the same way, that spiritual life is a matter of temperament, that, if the community has the right blood in it, it will work out its salvation under the guidance of blind instinct, and we need have no more thought or worry as to the future of such a nation as the United States than we have of the progress of the seasons. There may be bad weather in May, and snowflakes in the air, but no one fears that we are going back to March and February. June is as sure to come as the sun is to rise on the morrow, and everybody knows that the twentieth century is to be the June of that civilization which the nineteenth has so well established. I am not a pessimist, I have no doubts at all of the glory of the twentieth century, but my confidence is founded on something infinitely better than the miserable superstition described above. Look at the doctrine that blood will tell, that all is a matter of temperament, and you find that you have simply the old heathen doctrine of Fate with changed names. Science teaches that there are two factors in our nature: brain paths on the one hand, and power to weigh evidence on the other. It teaches that brain paths alone are automatic and take care of themselves, and it teaches that wherever a civilization has been

left to brain paths it invariably fossilizes or runs backward and destroys itself. Boast as you will of the Teuton race, there is no organizing power in it, says Burgess, for those tribes made no progress from the days of Tacitus till Christian missions quickened their life. It teaches that the only point that can successfully overcome these tendencies are those spiritual impulses that can be stimulated to activity only by the discussion and clear realization of the eternal principles of human obligation and relationship. The spiritual impulses are not automatic, they will not take care of themselves, they cannot be kept active a moment except under the inspiration of ideals. Cloud the ideals of a community, persuade men that high moral obligations are wholly theory and of no practical importance, and that therefore they would better turn their thoughts to the real world about them, and what in a short time would the real world become? Everywhere propensities would rule supreme and moral life expire. Christ came to bear witness to the truth: "If ye know the truth, the truth shall make you free." He who was the Truth said, "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto Me." A person cannot be a Christian without following the example of his Master. The only hope of civilization is in those spiritual impulses that can be stimulated to action only through the truth made conspicuous by those who aspire to be workers together with Him.

We do not expect a millennium in the twentieth century. We are pretty well satisfied with the nineteenth as it is. Many are not much disturbed by social evils; this age is good enough for them. But what is the secret of this age? Is it not the scientific spirit and the search for truth that has awakened the consciences of

men? Would the curse of slavery ever have been lifted from our country if high ideals of human life and obligations had not been held up before us by such prophets as Phillips, Sumner, and Lincoln? Was it not the same that successfully overcame the spirit of the anarchists in their attempt on our institutions in the Chicago riot? Can anything else enable us to hold our own in the presence of that increasing crowd of immigrants gathered out of every nation and kindred and tribe? See the reign of terror that the Italian secret society established in New Orleans. Realize how serious a thing it is for the lower classes, who in their foreign homes have been governed wholly by force and tradition, to find themselves in America without their traditions and without the tyranny which they have been accustomed to identify with government and religion. How can they help giving themselves over to license and becoming an explosive element in our slums?

The difficulty is not confined to foreigners. For ages the ancestors of the American people have been inspired and quickened by their religious faith. They believed in verbal inspiration of the Scriptures. The church laid the greatest possible stress on this life as a preparation for the future, with its awful rewards and punishments of heaven and hell. We can hardly imagine the strength of these motives. What a check they were to wrongdoing. As an illustration of their power, take the Puritan observance of the Sabbath day. Jonathan Edwards preached his sermon in Northampton on future punishment with such unction that his audience felt the Judgment Day had come; evil doers seemed to themselves to be falling downwards into the pit, and they actually laid hold of

the seats, as a drowning man grasps at a rope to save him. All this has changed now. Whether rightly or wrongly, the higher criticism is working havoc with the doctrine of inspiration in the popular mind. Sunday is fast losing its sanctity. The holy day is now a holiday. The doctrine of evolution has taken the place occupied by Calvinistic theology, and our preachers now rarely mention the subject of future punishment which formerly found such a large place in their sermons. President Walker in his Phi Beta Kappa address at Harvard a few years ago declared that men nowadays think ninety-nine times as to how they are going to live, to once as to how they are going to die.

It is clear that the public have not the old motives for action that shaped the early history of our country. Now, what new motives are you going to put in the place of the old, if not the power of the spiritual impulses awakened by the knowledge of the truth? Take the municipal corruption in our cities; the power of the "boss" in politics; the strength of Tammany in New York, and realize that you have got a struggle to the death. These forces will either conquer or be conquered, and what agencies have you got arrayed against them? Herbert Spencer felt that issue very keenly; he realized that evolution had destroyed the old motives that used to influence the masses, and that, unless new motives of the strongest type were put in their place, serious consequences would follow. He therefore stopped his work on the synthetic philosophy as he had planned it, and jumped over several volumes which the logical order would have required him to write, in order that he might present to the public the first instalment of his discussion in ethics, fearing that the accident of death might

prevent this work from appearing, and that without it his previous work in behalf of evolution might sap the moral life of many whose previous faith had been destroyed thereby.

It is freely granted that the truths of a scientific sociology will not regenerate humanity in a day, that forces of evil in human nature are deep-seated; but the more you say about their strength and persistence, the more you emphasize the need of ideals for society. For there are no other human agencies to antagonize these powers of evil except the spiritual impulses that can be awakened only by a knowledge of ideals, and whose strength and efficiency are proportioned to the clearness with which those ideals are realized.

What is true for society is true for the individual. You cannot overcome your passions and downward tendencies by dead effort of will. You must have help. You must have the working of counter-impulses; and you can get this help, you can stimulate these impulses, only in one way. You must know the truth concerning the spiritual life and your relationship to your fellow-men. You must not merely know it; you must "think on these things." Your effort of attention must be directed towards holding these ideals before the mind till they shall take possession of your thought, and color all your estimates of duty.

Spiritual impulses seem to us very weak; is it because they are weak or because they have never been stimulated? Only a few years ago electricity was supposed to be only a very insignificant agent manifested only in amber, and making lint adhere to your clothes, and the like, but how mistaken that judgment? What a tremendous power it has become at the close of the nineteenth century! Are you sure that spiritual im-

pulses are weak instead of being undeveloped? If the ideals of man's spiritual life could be made as real to the community as the truths of physical science, are you sure that righteous impulses would be impotent? Was that force that wrought out the Reformation contemptible for its weakness? Was the conscience of the country on the matter of slavery in the darkest hours of the Civil War a power to be sneered at? Is not the energy there, and has it not shown itself the most tremendous power in history on those rare occasions when it has been stimulated to act?

Grant that the age is mean, that men are selfish and corrupt, and that, preach ideals as you will, by an effort of the will, they will refuse to follow them; does this mean that the scientific study of sociology will be impotent? Does it not rather mean that, if scientific ideals are proclaimed and made real to the public, the strongest impulses of human nature will be stimulated to resist the meanness and the selfishness of the age, and that base men who will not reform will experience the maximum of opposition to their evil career, both in their own consciences and the consciences of the community? Is the achievement of such a result as this insignificant? England will undoubtedly win in the Transvaal, but is not the resistance of the Boers costing her pretty dearly? Has the nation been stirred so profoundly by sense of alarm for a whole century as during the repeated defeats at the beginning of the war? Has not the heroism of the Boers won for them the admiration of the world, and even of the Englishmen themselves? Is this a small achievement for those few Dutchmen? Suppose Tammany does triumph and "bossism" ultimately win, will it be no small glory to secure that this victory is dearly

bought, and that the conquerors have paid heavily for each gain? Christ lost in His struggle with the Jews, but did they not pay too heavily for the victory? Would not a similar defeat of ideals in modern society be followed by a resurrection that would make them omnipotent? Would not such a fate be the surest path to ultimate victory?

XX

THE COMING REFORM¹

IN all the schemes that are proposed by politicians, labor agitators, statesmen, and scholars, we are able by careful study to discover that there are only two distinct trends. Antagonistic as these writers are to each other in details, there is only one comprehensive antagonism. We can overlook particular differences and give our attention to the fundamental distinction that sharply outlines the position of all writers as belonging to either one party or the other. The first party, including by far the larger number, is devoted to the great effort of bringing about the millennium through a variety of contrivances, all of which reduce to attempts of a purely quantitative character. Just as in music you get harmony or discord, treble or bass, by a quantitative increase or decrease in the number of vibrations, so that the whole scheme of music can be worked out in terms of mathematics; so there are writers and critics who aim by simply quantitative devices for distributing wealth, or suffrage, or wages, to change the great national discord to be found in each country to a grand anthem of contentment and prosperity.

The other great party, while not undervaluing the

¹ This manuscript was found complete and with the title above. It is in its form perhaps better adapted for publication as a unit by itself than are the other manuscripts. Portions of it were used, in combination with other material, in three pamphlets, and the imagery of "the lion and the lamb" appears frequently elsewhere.

efforts for quantitative justice, yet feel that the labor problems, the political evils, the corruption of municipal politics, are but symptoms of deep-seated disease in human nature for which there is no remedy of a superficial character that is seriously worth experimenting with. We must go to the very source of the whole trouble and seek a change in the quality of human life. There must be truer conceptions of human nature and less selfishness. These thinkers are never tired of reëchoing the words of Christ to Nicodemus as the great hope for the evils of our time, "YE MUST BE BORN AGAIN." This is true not merely of individuals, but of institutions and of society itself. The time has come when business and social organizations must be regenerated; when the aim of life shall no longer be simply to get, but to be heroic and noble, and to achieve great things.

It is our aim at the present time to contrast these two schools of thought and discover what results can be expected from each. We begin with the school demanding quantitative justice.

I

In a general way we may divide people whose whole life is devoted to simply quantitative gain into two classes: first, those who seek the largest amount of satisfaction in the present, and to this end are willing to discount the future; and secondly, those who seek the largest amount of welfare in the long run, and have the courage and heroism to discount the present for the future. The same individual at different periods in his life may belong now to one class and now to the other, but sooner or later he will cease this changing

allegiance and become permanently allied either with those who live for the present or with those who live for the future.

First, those who live for the present. We are so familiar with the people of these characteristics that no description is needed. We find them everywhere in business. They are quick to take present gains and spend as they go, rather than lay up money for a rainy day when it can be done only at the expense of saying, No, to some strong appeal to appetite or passion. And what is true of money is also true of health, which is sacrificed freely when some immediate gain can be reached by late hours or undue exposure.

Such men in college will remind you that they are young only once and ought to have a good time now, as otherwise they can never have it; they urge, therefore, that even though they neglect studies and discipline, and thus may seriously embarrass their professional career, they will yet be sure to have a happy memory of college days. Such people are often extremely agreeable, ready to respond to any excitement, and very entertaining in their companionship.

The other class are the shrewd, long-headed fellows who know how to work, to endure present suffering for the greater gain which is to come in time. They are not disturbed by the pity or the criticism which is so freely given them, for they have their eye on a prize which, when it is won, never fails to excite the admiration and the worship of those who despised them in the days of their privation.

What are the relations which in time must necessarily come to exist between these two classes? We reply there is but one relation conceivable: that of the

master and the slave, that of the lion and the lamb. Long-headed men unimpeded by conscience and inspired only by shrewdness cannot fail to discover the enormous opportunity for gain which is afforded by offering some present profit to their short-sighted but passionate brethren. Sooner or later Jacob, by fair means or by foul, will have gotten the birthright from his brother Esau. The prize is too great and the conditions altogether too favorable for any other result. The problem of purely governmental reform is to devise some means of making the lion lie down with the lamb. (There never has been any success in this undertaking until the lamb has first been stored away within the lion.) The lion is by his very nature a carnivorous animal; he cannot live except it be on the lamb; to ask him to give up his prize is to ask him to starve to death, and he is too full of resources to do this. Hence all our governmental restrictions will succeed simply in changing the method by which the results will be reached, but can neither hasten nor delay the result. That is, slavery of the short-sighted to the long-sighted has always existed and always will exist so long as quantity is the aim of each. The only question that can possibly be discussed is, What form of slavery shall prevail at a given time?

First, we affirm this proposition: the progress of physical science makes it absolutely necessary that all changes in the relationship between these two classes shall be such as increase the power and appetite of the lion, and diminish the ability of the lamb to resist. We will attempt to prove by particular cases each part of the proposition.

1. Inventions increase the power of long-headed men. First: the railroad and the telegraph have made

the trust both possible and necessary in our age. Without railroads and telegraphs the great business genius could never be able to control the industry throughout the length and breadth of the land. But by means of these inventions his superior ability will enable him to compete with less gifted rivals, and by fair means or foul to drive them out of the trade. Take Pittsburg to-day. A few years ago there were quite a large number of private machine shops whose owners had a fair business and were enabled to lay up from one to four hundred dollars a week. But now the great single company has absorbed all these, and the former owners are working for the trust for ordinary day wages. The history of other trusts is even more striking, because by obtaining differential rates from the railroads owing to the magnitude of their own operations, the products of their rivals were driven from the market. Secondly: new machines are continually invented to do the work which formerly has been done by hand. From such inventions skilled labor is reduced to unskilled. This makes the laborer more dependent on the good will of the trust. He becomes a hand instead of a head. Phonography, for instance, will in time drive out the stenographer; the typesetting machine is already driving out the compositor. Individuals, who have spent years in acquiring skill, and who have grown too old to learn a new trade, must take their chances in the competition with these machines. Is not, then, the long-headed man able to be more of a tyrant than he would have dared to think of being before he had the opportunity which machinery gives him? The riot at Homestead a few years ago, which had so much to do in influencing the Presidential election in 1892, sprang

in part from the fact that the Carnegie Company had invented machines to do the work which skilled laborers had formerly been paid a high price for performing. Thirdly: the extent to which machines have driven out laborers can be gathered from the report of the Bureau of Statistics in Berlin, 1887. It gives the steam power of the world as equivalent to one thousand million men. This would be three times the working population of the entire globe. Fourthly: the invention of machinery makes possible the de-humanizing of the laborer. To be human is to be intelligent; to be intelligent is to look at the part in the light of the whole. Formerly a shoemaker made the whole shoe, and in so doing had some diversity to his work and some ingenuity demanded from his thought. But now the making of a shoe is divided into sixty-four parts, and the company find that they can get the largest amount of work out of the laborer by limiting him solely to one of these parts. Thus his work becomes undiversified and purely automatic. He has no need to weigh evidence; he tends simply to follow brain paths. He becomes, therefore, not a man but a machine. Fifthly: the only protection which the laborer can have against this tyranny of the long-headed man is to organize into unions and resist tyranny by a strike. But there are three considerations which show that he must lose in this struggle. First: the population must always crowd closely on the limits of support in a free country, where the laws give freedom and every man is allowed to work where he will. When laborers strike, their places can be easily filled from the excess of population. If men are simply selfish and have no regard for honor and duty, no matter how just the strike may be, there will

be a vast number of the unemployed only too ready to take the place of the strikers. This means that every strike is hopeless in the long run. Secondly: Kidd has pointed out that the worst that the laborers can do to the capitalist is to suspend his earnings; whereas the worst the capitalist can do to the laborers is to completely suspend their support and the support of their families, and this means death. The conditions of the conflict are thus extremely unequal. Thirdly: the capitalist can easily migrate and go to other countries or different localities, if the laborers take to the ballot-box and pass laws unfavorable to a long-headed man. Now tell me who has the advantage in this struggle on the basis of mere selfishness? Tell me what hope you have of preventing the selfishness of the long-headed man from becoming absolute, as much so as that of the sweating shops?

2. The progress of science not merely increases the power of the lion over the lamb; it increases also the ferocity of his nature. The more he has the more he wants. The Greek meaning of the word covetousness is not a desire for little, not a desire for much, but a desire for more. Weber's law shows that "more" means a perceptible increase, and the gain necessary for a perceptible increase depends upon the amount which one already possesses. To a man who gets a dollar a day an addition of twenty-five cents is a very perceptible increase. But to a man who gets a thousand dollars a day an addition of twenty-five cents is a laughing stock.

3. Additional stimulus to the long-headed man to exploit the weak comes from the fact that the progress of inventions is continually destroying property by making the plant of an establishment out of date and

requiring better machinery for successful competition with rivals. It has been estimated that a factory fully up to date in every particular, if it were shut up and its machinery preserved in perfect condition, would, without a single day's wear, become absolutely worthless in fifteen years by the progress of inventions. The margin of profits is so small that any improvement which enables the rival to cut under price demands that the old machinery be put out and better machinery put in its place; therefore either the capitalist must be willing to lose his former investment or he must squeeze that loss out of short-sighted people.

Society has been compared to a row of elastic balls suspended from a frame which is used in the physical laboratory to illustrate the communication of motion. A dozen of these balls are so suspended that they are free to move, but when at rest are in contact with each other in a row. If one on the right hand is lifted sixty degrees and then allowed to fall against its neighbor, this one is not displaced, but simply communicates the momentum to the ball next in contact on the other side, and this in turn to its neighbor, so that none is moved except the last in the series, which is then driven off to an angle of sixty degrees. It is claimed that the disasters which befall capitalists are just communicated to those next dependent on them, the middlemen, and that these pass it on, so that those who ultimately bear the burden are at the end of the series in society — the laboring classes.

Take the London dock strike. Before the inventions of steam vessels and ocean cables, it took many months to make a voyage from Europe to China or India. In order to keep ships from being delayed at port while their cargoes were being manufactured,

goods were made in advance and stored in the warehouses at the dock, ready for the incoming ship. In this way, great and costly storehouses were built and the dockmen were extremely important laborers; for as soon as a ship arrived it was immediately unloaded, its cargo stored on the dock, and a new load placed aboard, and then the ship was off for another voyage. It was just as necessary to keep these large stocks on hand at the dock as it is now necessary to keep plenty of coal on hand at the coaling stations of the navy. But all of a sudden three inventions changed this whole state of affairs. The first was ocean cables, the second was the application of steam to merchant vessels, and the third was the cutting of the Isthmus of Suez. In consequence, goods are no longer manufactured in advance, but simply as ordered by cable. They are therefore shipped directly from the factory to the vessel, and the dock houses are not needed for storage. Further, the cargo of the vessel is not brought to London and then shipped from there to different places in Europe, but is left at particular ports along the Mediterranean. That means the saving of all cost in storage, and a voyage which had formerly occupied months is now reduced to days and weeks. The result has been that many new ports have been opened and London is no longer visited by many of the ships and is no longer the centre for nearly all commerce. How did this affect the London Dock Company? They had a hundred millions invested in docks upon which they were trying to pay the full rate of interest. They could do this only by diminishing the wages of the dockmen, and this they did not hesitate to do. The result was the great London dock strike of 1889, which caused so much

anxiety and excited so much attention throughout the world.

If you want to see the extent to which these changes have taken place, look over our country and tell me how much property that is in existence now, aside from gold and silver, existed a generation (or thirty years) ago. Take New York City. How many of the buildings have been entirely rebuilt in that period? How many streets and docks have been entirely reconstructed? How many of the railroads, and the rails and the depots, and the rolling stock, and the steamboats have any part of their structure dating back for thirty years? Is it not as though a fire had swept over that city like the one that swept over Chicago? Is not the only difference that fire works instantly and inventions take time?

There is another reason why the long-headed man imposes heavy burdens on the poor. It was found that in the diamond fields in South Africa the product was so great that the price of diamonds was reduced, and the market overstocked. The result was that many people who had never thought of using diamonds before now aspired to wear them. When diamonds are worn by Bridget, the wealthy ladies disdain to use them. It was found absolutely necessary, in order to sell the best diamonds at a good price, to restrict the supply of smaller ones. Hence the diamond trust was formed, and poor people were denied this luxury in order that the wealthy might be willing to keep up their use of these expensive jewels. This is a form of snobbishness which figures very largely in certain social matters and results in excluding the poor from many advantages which otherwise they might have. In other words, it introduces a caste system.

The trend of all these changes is in one direction; namely, to give the long-headed man who is willing to make present sacrifices a great increase of power over the poorer classes, and a great increase of aspiration for larger results.

A large army under a poor general is easily whipped by a few soldiers under a Napoleon. A dollar in the hands of a shrewd, long-headed man is more potent than many dollars in the hands of a short-sighted fellow. But when we come to reverse the relationship and give Napoleon the large army and the poor general only a few soldiers, then what hope has the latter of winning? When you come to give the long-headed fellow all the money and the short-sighted fellow hardly means for support, then tell me how the strikers can hope to win save by a sort of French Revolution.

Bellamy thinks these consequences can be avoided by a governmental change, so that the desire of the long-headed fellow for property and the desire of the short-sighted fellow for immediate happiness can be restricted. In other words, that, by means of the industrial army, man will take the same delight in working without pay that soldiers do in fighting purely from the sense of honor. But Bellamy forgets that the military qualities of our race come from untold generations of heredity; whereas antagonism to work is the inheritance from savage ancestors who thought that to fight and to rob were manly, but to do work was to be a squaw. Can you by any governmental legislation eliminate heredity?

It is clear that the progress of scientific inventions increases the power of the long-headed, selfish man; that these inventions also increase his ferociousness, and at the same time sting him by the occasional cruel

losses which they inflict on any particular investment. How can he hope to make good these losses and satisfy his larger appetite for gain unless he uses this increased power for the more extensive destruction of the lamb? Let us now turn to the other side of the conflict.

4. It is easy to see that the advance of civilization renders the lamb more helpless to resist or elude the lion. First: present gratification is enormously increased by the discoveries of science, and therefore the temptations to discount the future in terms of the present are infinitely more powerful now than formerly.

(a) Let us take a few extreme cases. Science has invented whiskey, and the appetite for intoxicating drink is a hundred times stronger than when wine was the most dangerous beverage. The outcome of this is the liquor saloon, and upon it is reared the sovereignty of Tammany. The power of corruption in politics is infinitely stronger than it would have been but for this particular invention.

(b) In one of Cicero's letters he incidentally informs us that Cæsar, at a certain banquet after the repast had been eaten, followed the common custom of wealthy Romans of taking an emetic in order that he might prepare himself for a second feast and thus have so much extra enjoyment. In this way sometimes distinguished Romans could enjoy as many as four banquets consecutively. No animal could possibly be tempted into a slavery of the appetite compared with this. It was the discovery of medical science which made it possible for the Romans to become swine, degraded to the fourth power, as we say in algebra. Apply this in a modified form to the luxury of the present day and you will see that the

progress of arts and inventions, is used to increase enormously the expenses of the style of living, and that many a man has committed defalcation simply because his home expenses made it impossible for him to live within his salary. It will also be seen that men who cannot be bribed with money can oftentimes be bribed by social entertainment, and the highest affairs of state are to some extent endangered by the social influences which the luxury of the times has rendered so potent.

(c) Dr. Parkhurst found one of his great enemies in his struggle for municipal reform to be the house of ill fame. By paying hush money to the police captain the whole police force of the city was arrayed against the true interests of the community in behalf of the power of Tammany. The house of ill fame was only second to the saloon in its influence.

But perhaps the most conspicuous effect of modern inventions is the city itself, which forces a large number of laborers into tenement houses, or into sweating shops. They thus have to become hands instead of persons and are known only by their tag number; their only hope for any rights is found in selling themselves completely to the labor union, which oftentimes is more despotic than the capitalist.

Are not the lambs a thousand times more helpless in our modern civilization, with all these temptations about them and with all the competition so greatly increased, than they were in the old days before science had made so much progress?

If this matter is to be fought out simply between the long-headed and the short-sighted men, can there be any doubt that sooner or later the conflict will cease altogether and the lamb will lie down inside the lion;

that the laborers will resign themselves to the complete mastery of the shrewd, long-headed men, and that we shall have another form of slavery infinitely more cruel than that which existed in the South before the Civil War? Then there was sometimes warm, personal loyalty between master and slave, and the slave was almost always known by name. But this slavery is impersonal—a mere matter of gain for the masters, and a base livelihood and dissipation for the mastered.

II

What remedy have we to propose for this state of affairs? The answer is very simple. The Christian doctrine is that the lion can lie down with the lamb only by having his nature changed so that he shall eat straw like the ox; in other words, he must cease being a carnivorous animal and become herbivorous, and then he has no motive for destruction. The aim of our wealthy men must be not enjoyment, but service, even as Christ came, not to be ministered unto, but to minister and to give His life a ransom for many. On the other hand, the lamb must also be regenerated and be no longer a muttonhead, but learn to sacrifice the present for the future, and thus be transformed from an animal to a person.

This scheme is not a mere ideal; it is the only practical scheme of living. This will be seen from the following considerations.

1. Whenever we make our ultimate appeal to quality instead of quantity, all men become persons and are peers with God. There is no longer Greek nor Jew, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; but Christ is all and in all. No caste system.

2. The law of personal service between equals is that the service rendered shall be practically equivalent to the service received. Between unequals the law is, the strong shall serve the weak and make them strong before expecting compensation.

3. This point of view insures, first, justice as opposed to a sentimental charity that feeds the tramp; and secondly, true charity which does away with all jealousy towards the more fortunate members of society. For instance, in a steamboat disaster the women and children are not jealous of the life-saving crew who risk their lives to save them. Neither would the laborer be jealous of the capitalist if he devoted all his time and strength to carrying responsibilities and anxieties that were thrust upon him in running a large business which furnished employment for thousands of homes. Let this business be run in the spirit of justice, and the post of honor becomes in every case the post of danger, because of the large responsibilities thrust upon the man who fills it. Increased ability means increased responsibility, and, instead of the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest, we find the struggle for the existence of others, in which the truest and the noblest fill the most difficult places, and spend and are spent for the elevation of those who are trying to help themselves. But in every case the truly incompetent or the morally depraved are readily prevented from perpetuating their species as a burden for the coming generation.

Critics have noticed three stages in the development of human civilization. First: the let alone policy; every man to look out for number one. This is the age of selfishness. Second: the opposite pole of thinking; every man to do somebody's else work

for him. This is the dry rot of sentimentality that feeds tramps and enacts poor laws such as excite the indignation of Herbert Spencer. But the third stage is represented by our formula: every man must render and receive the best conceivable service, except in the case of inequality, and there the strong must help the weak to help themselves; only on this condition is help given. This is the true interpretation of the life of Christ. On the first basis He would have remained in heaven and let the earth take care of itself. On the second basis He would have come to earth with His hands full of gold and silver treasures, satisfying every want that unfortunate humanity could have devised. But on the third basis He comes to earth in the form of a servant who is at the same time a master, commanding His disciples to take up their cross and follow Him; it is sovereignty through service as opposed to slavery through service. He refuses to make the world wealthy, but He offers to help them make themselves wealthy with true riches which shall be a hundred fold more, even in this life, than that which was offered them by any former system.

This is the only true conception of business; the only idea of wealth and power; just as every true government devotes its own strength for benefiting its citizens, and they, in turn, when they become strong, strengthen the resources of the government.

4. Every corporation like a railroad or a factory renders a thousand times more service to its individual employees than they can individually render it. Take a single case. It has been pointed out that a workman living in the suburbs would many times require a whole hour to walk to his place of business. These two hours a day, including his fatigue, make

a very large demand on his time and strength. But an electric road is built past his dwelling, and at a cost of five cents the journey is made in ten minutes without fatigue. He thereby gains an hour and forty minutes a day for his work, and, at the rate of thirty cents an hour for a skilled mechanic, that would be equivalent to fifty cents. That is, he gives the trolley cars ten cents a day and they give him back forty, and freedom from fatigue. More than that, by means of this rapid transit he is enabled to move out of a tenement house and occupy a home of his own a little farther out in the country, having a purer moral atmosphere, which, in the rearing of his family, is simply of incalculable financial value aside from all its ethical qualities. Is not such a corporation a regular Christopher?

But, on the other hand, by means of these suburban settlements the corporation receives very large aggregate returns from these investments and makes its projectors wealthy. This in time brings up the price of real estate in that part of the country, and our day laborer receives the unearned increment in addition to all other blessings which the road has given him. Now I ask you, is jealousy between the corporation and the laborer a necessary factor? Do these suburban homes feel that the trolley road is their enemy, or rather their life and prosperity? The stock of the Boston and Albany Railroad has been a miracle of firmness during all the great financial depressions of the last few years. It was in just this way that the road built up its prosperity. It began to run frequent suburban trains and to render every service possible to its patrons, transporting merchandise and parcels free of cost from Boston to the towns along its route.

The result was rapid growth in such places as Newton, and, therefore, enormous increase in traffic and a corresponding rise in the price of its stocks.

Are those who have been benefited by Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, Drexel Institute in Philadelphia, and Armour Institute in Chicago, inclined to look upon these institutions as their enemies? The same question will hold with regard to the colleges and universities so far as these illustrate the spirit of helping others to help themselves.

There is no labor problem in the savage world. No matter how despicable the condition of a man, he will rest contentedly until the ideals of manliness and freedom have dawned upon his mind, for we know the imperfect only in the light of the perfect. When we have seen the ideal we become dissatisfied. Christianity is largely responsible for the labor trouble. Christ came not to send peace on the earth, but a sword, and we are beginning to realize the truth of His words. How shall this great unrest, how shall these many wants, be met?

There are only two fountains from which men can ever attempt to drink. If one seeks satisfaction in quantity, water from that well will not prevent him from thirsting again. But, if he drink of the divine fountain of quality, these waters become in him "a well of water springing up unto everlasting life," and each individual becomes a fountain which makes an oasis in the desert. In Eden, man fell by eating of the fruit of the tree of knowledge. He went simply so far as to find what was good for food and suited to make one wise. The remedy for human evils is to eat of the tree of life, which yields the knowledge, not of our selfish interests, but of our spiritual obligations,

of our true dignity and grandeur. When the laborers seek by merely increasing their wages to remove their difficulties they are increasing the evils of the times. When the laborers seek not to get, but to give, better service, and demand the same of their masters, and ask that manhood shall depend not on wealth, but on merit, then a new star, which is the star of Bethlehem, has begun to shine in their sky.

The most satisfied men in history are not those who have received the largest pay, but those who have rendered the greatest service to their age, often entirely without pay. What is the financial compensation which Christ received? and we may ask the same question as to Socrates, Washington, Phillips, Sumner, Gladstone, Von Moltke. How much compensation do our ablest scientific authors receive for their contributions to human welfare? Why do not the members of a medical profession patent their discoveries? Why do not the members of the British House of Commons go on a strike because they have received no compensation for their services?

But you say the laborer wants financial justice. Surely he ought to, but is that his main desire? In our Civil War, was the great question of our soldiers what pay they were going to get? or was it the services they were going to give, which made them patient in battle and on march, in the hospital and in prison? If the main aim of business man and laborers were the same as that of authors and soldiers, should we find it very difficult to improve the questions of financial justice? Give the laboring classes a chance to serve; invent machines that will do mechanical work; allow them to be heads instead of hands; let them find honor and recognition in the handling of these machines, as

Dewey's sailors found it in the handling of their guns; then would the standard recognition in society be merit and manliness instead of wealth, our labor problems would require only patience and forbearance in order to approximate towards a stage of civilization, and slavery would disappear.

Whatever you may say of the laborer, he is a man, and will never be satisfied until he lives the life of a man. All attempts to deal with the labor problem on the maxim that you must deal with men as they are, and not as they ought to be — all these attempts are doomed to failure, for the laborers at present are not their true selves, and the system which just fits them now cannot give satisfaction, since they cannot now be satisfied with their present selves. Those who call themselves practical, and look on men as mean and tricky and subject to the motives of bribery — these people are visionary and dreamy and impracticable leaders. For, whatever a man may say about himself, he is infinitely more than all these, and his reserve powers have got to be reckoned with. You may carry a certain explosive as you would any other weight, and test it by the balance or scales, and say that is all there is to it. Judging by appearances, this is the estimate explosives have of themselves. But the man who allows himself to be deceived and to deal with them in that way is simply a fool. Their chemical composition is unstable, and without warning their true nature asserts itself. Human nature has often done the same. The French Revolution, the American Revolution, the War of the Rebellion were great surprises to the practical politicians, and to the diplomatists, who sneered at man's spiritual nature. Spain is now paying the penalty for her disregard of

the spiritual nature of her subjects. The true reformer will deal with the laboring classes as Christ dealt with fallen human nature. He will discover in men the image of God, and He will establish institutions that will stand the test of divine standards.

If we now take a brief review of the past, we shall see that the progress of civilization will so increase the power of machinery that in time all mechanical work will be performed by machines. The workman will no longer be a hand, but a head. In olden times men-of-war were propelled by slaves, whose oars were arranged in one, two, or three banks. Just as the steam engine has driven out the slave and made the engineer who runs it a regular officer of the line, ranking with the captain, so will machines drive out slave labor in our mills and make the work, that was once so degrading, a task of skill stimulating the brain to its most careful exercise. Until this day comes, man will not be enthroned as master of nature, but when it does arrive, and machines in all their tedious details are automatic, then humanity will be made conscious of its sovereign dignity.

This means that in the struggle for existence humanity must evolve out of the region of the animal into the intelligence of the human sphere, and those who will not so progress, who will not attain the skill and manly ability to take charge of these complicated machines, shall be completely driven out of work and driven to the wall.

In Homer's day, greatness consisted in mere size or in mere numbers of warriors, but you will notice everywhere through Homer that the victory is given not to the Cyclops, but to the crafty Ulysses; not even to the mighty Achilles, who for ten years waged war around

Troy without accomplishing visible results, but to the strategy employed in the wooden horse. Homer is the great epic which sings the contrast between brain and brawn at its very beginning, at a time when people had no more faith in mere shrewdness than many people now have for the success of Sunday-school virtue in business and politics. But the time will come when it will be hard for the world to understand the point of view of Homer's age. A time will come when brain shall be almost everything, and machinery will do the rest.

The advent of this day will bring many changes. It will first bring very much leisure: the few will obtain work; the many will find nothing to do. Of these the majority will starve, but gradually the idea will take possession of society that the education of the child must begin two hundred and fifty years before he is born, and great care will be exercised as to what marriages shall be formed. Then after birth the widest possible training, not merely intellectual, but industrial, will be furnished by the state instead of wasting ten or fifteen years of the child's life. This will be considered the most precious period, and neither hope nor sympathy will be extended to one who neglects this period.

A second step in progress will be to greatly multiply human wants. Just as the invention of sewing machines, instead of driving out of existence poor needlewomen, multiplies the work to be done a thousand fold, and makes it possible for the humblest member of society to purchase, ready made, a style of garment requiring so much work that fifty years ago it would have been extravagant even for a wealthy person, — so the invention of machinery will multiply

products and reduce their price to such an extent that the same expenditure will give many times the present returns. As, according to Weber's law, increased desires demand an increase of products for their satisfaction, which soon becomes almost infinite, so the ultimate outcome of these inventions will be so to increase the wants and the comforts of society that there shall be infinitely more employment than at present.

Thirdly. The gradual standard of manliness and social recognition will require companionship and culture as well as skill. The great truth of Scripture will begin to be wrought out in our whole life that man cannot live by bread alone. He is not born into this world simply to spend his time in keeping body and soul together or in administering to his physical body. The age will come when the moral and spiritual life will be recognized to be as much superior to the purely material as, in Homer's *Iliad*, craft and strategy are superior to brute force. A certain amount of leisure, therefore, will be demanded by all classes for their spiritual improvement, for their culture, for art, and for literature, and thus the hours of work will be greatly reduced. As man will be master of the machine, so the manly and spiritual will master, instead of being mastered by, man's material nature.

XXI

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY¹

MACAULAY wrote in 1857:

"I have long been convinced that institutions purely democratic must, sooner or later, destroy liberty, or civilization, or both.

"In Europe, where the population is dense, the effect of such institutions would be almost instantaneous. . . . I have not the smallest doubt that if we had a purely democratic government here (England) the effect would be the same. Either the poor would plunder the rich, and civilization would perish; or order and property would be saved by a strong military government, and liberty would perish.

"You may think that your country enjoys an exemption from these evils. I will frankly own to you that I am of a different opinion. Your fate I believe to be certain, though it is deferred by a physical cause. As long as you have a boundless extent of fertile and unoccupied land, your laboring population will be far more at ease than the laboring population of the Old World; and, while that is the case, the Jefferson politics may continue to exist without causing any fatal calamity. But the time will come when New England will be as thickly peopled as Old England. Wages will be as low, and will fluctuate as much with you as with us. You will have your Manchesters and Birminghams; and in those Manchesters and Birminghams, hundreds of thousands of artisans will assuredly be sometimes out of work. Then your institutions will be fairly brought to the test. Distress everywhere makes the laborer mutinous and discontented, and inclines him to listen with eagerness to agitators, who tell him

¹ A pamphlet of the later years.

that it is a monstrous iniquity that one man should have a million, while another cannot get a full meal. . . . The day will come when, in the State of New York, a multitude of people, none of whom has had more than half a breakfast, or expects to have more than half a dinner, will choose a Legislature. Is it possible to doubt what sort of a Legislature will be chosen? On one side is a statesman preaching patience, respect for vested rights, strict observance of public faith. On the other is a demagogue ranting about the tyranny of capitalists and usurers, and asking why anybody should be permitted to drink champagne and to ride in a carriage, while thousands of honest folks are in want of necessities. Which of the two candidates is likely to be preferred by a workingman who hears his children cry for more bread? . . .

“Your constitution is all sail and no anchor. As I said before, when a society has entered on this downward progress, either civilization or liberty must perish. Either some Cæsar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand; or your republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the twentieth century as the Roman Empire was in the fifth; with this difference, that the Huns and Vandals, who ravaged the Roman Empire, came from without, and that your Huns and Vandals will have been engendered within your own country by your own institutions.”

Since Macaulay wrote this letter some things have occurred which he would seize upon, were he now alive, as a demonstration of the truth of his position. I refer to such events as the great railroad war of 1877, when such terrible damage was done by the mob in different parts of the country, especially at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania; also to such events as the Paris Commune, when the rabble had the city in their possession and the radicals worked their will like fiends; to such events as the Pullman strike of 1894 at Chicago and vicinity. These instances show what can happen

when the lower classes get into control. Those who have been through such experiences, especially those who lived through the draft riots in New York in the time of the Civil War, have anxious forebodings when the times become hard and there is great suffering among the lower classes.

But Macaulay paints only the dark outlines to the picture. He has left out the main factor, namely, the spiritual nature of man, which never can be quite obliterated, even in the blackest criminal. It has been the aim of our course to study the evidence in favor of the existence of this nature and to determine the laws according to which it operates. We have gone far enough to discover that "brain paths" and pursuit of happiness are not all there is to life, even in the lowliest; that true manhood, the spiritual nature, can be developed, not merely in the palace and the counting-room, but in the workshop and among the rank and file of the industrial army; and it is quite possible that the mission of America in the history of the world is to accomplish just this task. We have laid great stress in the past on wealth and social position, but we are coming to a time in our history when all cannot hope to be wealthy in the new sense of that term; when there will be an impassable barrier between the great fortunes and the common people. Now, the result may be the formation of classes in society with antagonistic interests. If this occurs there will be some chance of realizing the prophecy of Macaulay. But we hope for better things; the ethical conception of human life must be pushed to the front. Then service, not wealth, will be the standard of honor. If the great fortunes are used for the service of the community, if machines are made to do mechanical work and

laborers are no longer hands but heads, if their whole time is not spent in barely winning a livelihood, but through education and religion fair emphasis is given to the moral, social, and intellectual nature, Macaulay's prophecy will seem short-sighted and narrow.

If we look back over the history of human thinking, we find these stages clearly marked. The first great era was occupied with the problem, "What is nature?" In prehistoric times men were afraid of nature; it was their enemy, the hiding-place of ghosts and hobgoblins and malicious spirits who were bent on doing men harm. The first era of philosophic thought worked out the mechanical conception of nature and taught man that it was neither friend nor foe, but simply his tool, to be used with skill instead of ignorance. The modern atomic theory was originated by Democritus; the theory of evolution was crudely formulated by Empedocles, and most of our modern scientific conceptions had some prototype in this early stage of Greek reflection. This was a wonderful step in progress, and the world has never been quite the same as it was before. You know how it is with the century plant. It lives and grows, but generations come and go before it blossoms. Science is not a century plant, but a plant of millenniums. It took root in this earliest day of Greek thinking, but two thousand years passed away before it blossomed. We to-day see the beauty of the flower.

The next great problem was, "What is man?" Before this question was asked he was a nobody. The state was everything, the individual nothing. But under the influence of the sophists, of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, the work of man as an individual began to be revealed. Even Meno's slave was found to pos-

sess a divine nature that made him a peer of those who had despised him. The worth of man as man, his power to know truth that had before seemed only the prerogative of the gods to know, arrested attention. There was no longer "Greek nor Jew, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free," but mind was all and in all. In the breaking up of Greek political life, in the loss of their material splendor, when their national sun had set, the stars of the spiritual firmament began to shine and all the wise men wondered.

The next great question was, "What is God?" And as the more advanced and candid thought on this question they gradually gave up their polytheism and their pluralism and came out squarely on the monistic basis. Stoicism was through and through monistic. It was just at this time that Christ came and taught the Fatherhood of God and the doctrine of the atonement. This great truth swept the Roman Empire, and in three centuries seated a follower of the Nazarene on the throne of the Cæsars.

The fourth great question was, "The problem of evil." Here we have the great Augustinian controversies. It was a period of decay; the corruption of the Roman Empire was everywhere revolting. The beginning of the night of the Middle Ages brought a return from the monistic conception back again to pluralism. First, because on this basis it seemed so much easier to explain evil; and secondly, because the barbarians could more easily understand pluralism, whereas monism was hard to grasp.

The fifth great question was, "How can sinful man be just with God?" This was the time of the Protestant Reformation, and it brought out the problem of justification by faith, the forgiveness of sins through

repentance. It formulated the doctrine of the atonement as vicarious — vicarious punishment. "Thou hast laid upon him the iniquities of us all, and by his stripes we are healed."

The sixth great question was, "How shall man be just with his sinful fellow-man?" It will be noticed that the other questions are old-world questions, and it will be seen that during all those ages, while they were being wrought out and thought out, America was shrouded in eternal night. But just at the time when the Reformation began, America was revealed; and just when men begin to realize, as President Seelye said, that they were sons of God, therefore brethren, children of a common father, and not divided up into privileged castes, — when they discovered that they were sons of God, they reasoned that they could not be the slaves of man, — then America was opened up and became an asylum for civil and religious liberty. The contest whereby the power of church and despots was broken was wholly negative. Political liberty was not real liberty, but simply an opportunity. In this America had little part. The positive side of that question is social and industrial freedom, and here America is the battle-ground. If God makes atonement for the sins of man, then man ought to make atonement for the sins of his fellow-man. In Christ's first coming in Judea we have the crisis of the divine atonement. In his second coming, when he incarnates himself, not in human form, but in human relationships, in human institutions, *i. e.*, in a Christian civilization, may we not find the crisis in human atonement in America?

You remember one scene in Christ's life where He went up into the mountain and, while there, was trans-

figured; His disciples saw Him then no longer a man of sorrows acquainted with grief, but in His divine grandeur, and with Him Moses, who represented the law that He fulfilled, and Elias, who represented the prophecies which He had brought to pass. It seems to me that philosophy is the mount of transfiguration of human nature, and that if we study it rightly we no longer see only that which is base and mean and selfish and slavish, which actual life makes so much of, but we have revealed to us the divine spirit which is working out through it all. Then we discover that this side of human life alone gives meaning to science, which stands for law in modern times, and to society, which has ever looked forward to a future beyond the power of mere man to realize. Industrial life, which has been so often condemned as having nothing but selfishness in it, is seen to be a reincarnation of the divine in human character; for it is nothing but sovereignty on its positive side, where the strong make the service given an equivalent for the service received in business, and in charity the strong help the weak to become strong and thus help themselves. This, then, is the particular problem of America. In regenerating business and charity, in purging them of all that is selfish and merely traditional, and placing them squarely on the basis of service, we shall have a second coming of Christ, the realization of the Kingdom of God on earth. And man will adopt the same schemes for resisting the sins of his fellow-man that God has adopted for resisting the sin of the world. Then man will not merely think God's thought after Him in physical science, but he will live God's life after Him in his social existence. Then the same mind will exist in us that existed in Christ Jesus our Lord.

Now, for the solution of these questions, America has peculiarly favorable conditions. In the first place our population is made up of a composite stock. It was said that God sifted three nations to get the seed wherewith to plant New England civilization in the time of the Puritans. Since that time we have been receiving, not the worn-out and effete remains of a decadent race, but the vigorous, hardy elements from all the races of the world. When Corinth was sacked by the Romans, as the temples burned, the statues of the gods made of gold and silver and bronze melted and fused together into a common alloy which was known as Corinthian bronze, and had such peculiarly delicate qualities that its value was priceless. As a result of the tribulations, wars, and persecutions in Europe the best and bravest of many stocks have come together and fused in America, and formed a race superior to any in the world. Here, free from the old traditions, and from the old caste systems, we have a new rich territory in which to work out our destiny. Let me recall here the lines written by Edward Everett Hale, and ask if there is not a deep truth in their meaning.

“Give me white paper!

This which you use is black and rough with smears
Of sweat and grime and fraud and blood and tears,
Crossed with the story of men's sins and fears,
Of battle and of famine all these years.

When all God's children had forgot their birth,
And drudged and fought and died like beasts of earth.”

“Give me white paper!”

One storm-trained seaman listened to the word;
What no man saw he saw; he heard what no man heard.
In answer he compelled the sea
To eager men to tell
The secret she had kept so well!
Left blood and guilt and tyranny behind, —
Sailing still West the hidden shore to find;
For all mankind that unstained scroll unfurled,
Where God might write anew the story of the World.

I believe that early in the twentieth century events will have progressed so far that America will begin to realize her mission and address herself mainly to this particular task. We have been dazzled by wealth, we have been envious, and we have wanted our share. Men have been selfish and greedy, but I feel that they will soon wake up, and their better nature will find expression, at least in the better classes in the community. It is your privilege to be on the scene of action at such a time in the world's history. As the twelve disciples were given the privilege of laying the foundations of the early church, young men of this age are given the opportunity of instructing the people in the true foundations of a Christian civilization. It is your opportunity to do something.

This is a new way of looking at things, and it requires something besides thinking to take this view. No one can follow truth without being an actual hero, for the multitude do not go that way; they follow custom. Remember the experience of Columbus when he dared to live up to the evidence which proved to him that the world was round. Derided by his contemporaries, he steered his ships towards the west with nothing to guide him except the great truths which science had revealed. Was the courage of that man a small achievement? To be a hero in battle is merely to follow the footsteps of a great company of patriots who fairly blaze with glory. But to be alone on an unknown sea, where the very laws of nature seem to be changing and the most trusted friends call you crazy, and then to dare every peril, inspired by the faith in the unseen country, is sublime. Let this be a prophecy for your life. The old country from which you set sail on your voyage of life is the material shore. It is the king-

dom of brain paths, where selfishness is not sovereign, but tyrant. It is the prevailing view of the citizens of this country that there is no other land. We have given evidence to show that there is a Western hemisphere, a spiritual America, the home of freedom, a commonwealth whose inhabitants are citizens of the kingdom of Truth, whose achievements constitute all that is grand and heroic in human life. I beg you to follow Columbus. You will be ridiculed for your faith as he was for his. But refuse to deal with men simply as selfish beings. If your efforts seem to come to naught, and even those who are your helpers beg you to give up the voyage and turn back, push boldly on towards the other shore. If your heart does not fail, there will come a time when you shall have passed the fogs of doubt, weathered the storms of ridicule, and at last made a harbor in the spiritual life of humanity; then you will be the men of power.

PART II

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS AND ADDRESSES ON
EDUCATION AND LIFE

XXII

THE TRAINING OF A BOY¹

I DESIRE to speak this morning upon the training imperatively demanded by a boy's nature as the one condition without which he cannot develop into the full stature of a man.

You have it in your power to help us solve one of our most perplexing problems, *viz.*, that connected with the conversion of men's colleges into coeducational institutions. Not that at Harvard and Yale, Williams and Amherst, all the students do not now, or in the future are not likely to, wear coats and trousers; of course they will. But, in spite of that fact, they are likely to be not all of the masculine gender. There came a time in Hebrew history when "He was not a Jew which was one outwardly." So to-day a student is not really a man merely because he is so physically. Evolution has developed undergraduates that can be scientifically described only as persons having a female mind in a male body.

Are we to consider this new type as an improvement, or a reversion? Is not the refinement of a boy's rudeness into feminine delicacy and skill a step forward? One would surely think so if he accepted Professor Münsterberg's estimate of the modern American woman. Let me quote his words: "The American woman is clever and ingenious and witty; she is brilliant and lively and strong; she is charming and

¹ An address before a Teachers' Institute held in Amherst, May, 1902.

beautiful and noble; she is generous and amiable and resolute; she is energetic and practical and yet idealistic and enthusiastic — indeed, what is she not?"

I, for one, will not yield to the distinguished Harvard professor in my admiration for the modern, — not the new, — but the modern woman. Like him, I feel that my vocabulary is not sufficiently provided with complimentary epithets.

But it is barely possible that when Evolution produces a man of feminine mind it is not an instance of actual conversion, but only a case of mimicry so common in the lower species; not a true type, but only a counterfeit. It may be true here, as in other attempts at imitation, that one can copy the superficial but not the genuine qualities. If, therefore, I utter a protest this morning against this new way of making men's colleges coeducational, you will not understand my words as a disparagement of the true female mind, any more than you would imagine that I failed to appreciate diamonds if you heard me discounting a paste.

What, then, is the kind of discipline that develops manhood, and how serious is it for a boy to miss this training? To make my answer clear, we must first notice the essential differences between the normal man and woman.

Man is self-reliant, courageous, and heroic. His energies give him no satisfaction save in large achievements. By nature a warrior, he aspires to the strenuous life. Even in time of peace he still yearns for conquest — if not of enemies, yet of nature, of business, and of the kingdom of science. The greater the task the more fascination it possesses. Witness the persistent efforts to reach the North Pole, or, in

the past, to square the circle or to invent perpetual motion.

Woman, too, is ambitious, but not for conquests that inspire man. She is never a warrior save in cases so exceptional as to emphasize the rule. Man may delight in conquering nature or his enemies, but she finds her mission in conquering the heart of the conqueror. She desires influence and esteem, social position and reputation. She is born a sovereign, not of an empire, but of the home. She is, and for all time to come must be, wife and mother. Naturally more delicate and timid, she is also more diplomatic and intuitive. She is less passionate, but more devoted and self-sacrificing; she has a keener sense of honor.

But it is not so much the actual difference between the sexes to-day that should determine our methods of education as it is the great trend of all the past. We may properly speak of the momentum of the race. The female began her development self-sufficient and independent; her whole progress has been away from that type. The male in some lines or species began a weakling, a nobody; his whole evolution has been towards self-reliance and achievement. Can these facts be overlooked?

The man and woman of to-day are endowed with tendencies inherited from all these experiences and conditions of past centuries. Our normal life is swayed by impulses, once of greatest service, but now outgrown, and thus a danger and a snare. To wisely plan a course of education, these impulses must be reckoned with. Though they may be disguised, they will be dominant. We need to be acquainted with the forces working in and through us. We must do with the lower passions, by aid of discipline, just what

science has accomplished with steam and electricity, the agencies that work destruction in the earthquake and the thunderbolt: *viz.*, not annihilate them, but convert them to higher forms of activity, and so make them bless our age. Our fathers acted on the opposite plan of destroying the passion and breaking the boy's will. When they succeeded, the boy's life had lost strength, aggressiveness, and inspiration. The ontogenetic must repeat the phylogenetic. If so, surely the severe competitive discipline through which evolution developed man is the only training that will be potent in unfolding a boy's latent possibilities.

A crisis occurs in the life of a boy early in his "teens." This is so critical that the boy's destiny is determined by the course of discipline and instruction he receives at this time. The period between twelve and twenty has been called the "second birth"; the mental life of manhood makes its first appearance then. Our proposition is — When a boy reaches this age the question whether he is to be a true man or a counterfeit woman, a hero or a tricky, vain coward, is solved very largely by his teachers and his comrades, by his school, his home, and his games.

To illustrate the influence of environment on sex-development, let us study the frog. It is found that tadpoles, which are "asexual," depend upon their experiences in getting food to determine the gender of their future life as frogs. Feed them abundantly at this stage, make existence as easy as possible, cultivate in them habits of indolence and passivity, and ninety per cent will become female. But feed them sparingly, make their life a struggle for existence, force them to undergo a little hardship, create habits of activity, and the sex development is quite

reversed. A very, very small per cent turns out female.

Experience shows that a similar law holds for the development of mental sex with boys. If at fourteen or thereabouts they are thrown largely on their own resources, are forced to face the rough places in life without favor, — to really fight for themselves, not merely in sham battles, they become manly, courageous, heroic, patient, self-reliant, and honorable. But if too much is done for them and no severe tests are required, they become effeminate, sensitive, vain, capricious, superficial, jealous of others, with no confidence or power to decide for themselves. They also lack candor and frankness.

If this is true, a boy's nature at this period craves activity and opportunities to test unfolding powers. Does not this throw light on the marvelous development of athletics in recent years?

In Germany, where the severest military drill is so generally enforced and where corps students give so much attention to fencing and the duel, athletics fail to gain the hold they have here.

In earlier times, when students were obliged to bear largely the cost of their own higher education, they faced hardships in earning money, or in economizing, which called out the most manly qualities. When Dr. Goodell, missionary of the American Board to Harpoot, father of our own President Goodell, left home and entered Phillips Academy at Andover, he traveled the whole distance from Templeton, sixty miles, on foot, to Andover, and carried his trunk on his back. Probably he felt no special need of football on his arrival.

In the old days Scottish students went to Edin-

burgh in the fall often as Dr. Goodell went to Andover. They frequently took with them a sack of oatmeal and with it boarded themselves, and once when a Scotchman was reproached for poverty and reminded of Johnson's definition of oats he replied, "But where will you find such horses as in England, or such men as in Scotland?" These privations of university life (when they did not ruin the health of those who experienced them) brought out the noblest qualities of manhood.

In these days of wealth and luxury, when students have a liberal allowance, live in elegant fraternity houses, and have every service, even to blacking their shoes, performed by skillful and well-paid attendants; when teachers and authors vie with each other in making all themes simple and easy, and study is considered by no means the chief aim of college life, — they feel the need of severe athletic contests, as one who has been riding in a parlor car for a week longs to get out and walk up and down the platform whenever the train makes a stop.

Athletics are peculiarly suited to this end. In studies, only fifty per cent is required to pass, but college games do not put the bars so low. They demand the very best a man can give, better than any one else can offer. No favor is shown. Mistakes are not passed over. Errors are reported the length and breadth of the land. Here is the discipline suited for this formative age. It throws the boy on his own resources and makes him efficient. It means manhood. What a factor it was in the education of President Roosevelt!

The same is true of other outside college enterprises. Think of the Glee Club standard as com-

pared with that of the class room; think of a singer's striking only fifty per cent of the notes on time, and yet holding his place in the club. Just contrast the work done in the class room with the time spent and the work done in the intercollegiate debates or dramatics. Do you wonder that the one is sneered at while the other is worshiped? What might we not do for young men if only we adopted the same standards and the same tests that they instinctively set for their outside work?

I want to say just a word on college hazing. Every savage tribe requires the youth to pass through a period of severest discipline before he can be admitted to the ranks of warriors. They feel that without it he cannot become a man. The trial is so severe that many die in the process. But what of that? The tribe can do without weaklings. The tribe must have warriors, not "squaw-men." It is this training that makes the brave able to endure suffering and not to fail in a crisis, no matter what the cost.

Now, the lineal descendant of the savage ordeal is college hazing. It tests the mettle of new men. It makes manliness instead of wealth the basis of comradeship. It destroys conceit and emphasizes courage and self-control. It has surely done for some of our men what nothing else could, yet I cannot give my support to sophomoric hazing. I am pleased to note the decline of the cruder and more cruel forms as the tests of athletics have become more exacting. If we could only place the studies in the preparatory schools on a similar basis, might we not still further diminish the craving for that relic of barbarism?

"Every man likes to have been disciplined," it has been said. But at the time when it is experienced it

seems like chastisement, not joyous, but grievous. Nevertheless, afterwards it yields the peaceable fruits of manliness to them that are exercised thereby. A boy needs to learn to work; to "have plenty of nerve, but no nerves"; to spend his strength only where it will tell, and to be able to exert his entire energy at the critical moments. This alone is true work. A colt cannot do it. The race-horse, well trained, can. A tyro cannot do justice to himself; the experienced orator outdoes himself in a great debate. Discipline is the price man pays for his manhood. The higher he aspires to rise the greater the price. Before the Civil War there was much doubt in the public mind as to the value of the military school at West Point, but nothing has been heard of that doubt since the war. Though at the time many citizen soldiers became prominent, yet those who have been remembered for military success—Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Custer—were West Point graduates, and gave evidence of their training all through their career.

It seems to me that the proper course is to be perfectly frank with boys and tell them what their nature needs, and tell them plainly that life is largely "a struggle for existence," where only the "fittest can hope to win." Admit that fitness is no doubt largely based on natural gifts. "To survive" demands, in the first place, as President Dwight of Yale used to say, the right selection of a father and mother. Or, as Oliver Wendell Holmes put it to the woman who asked him when to begin to train a child, "Madam, at least two hundred and fifty years before it is born." No effort can make up for lack of capabilities derived from heredity; happy the boy who possesses them.

But, however much nature may have done for the

boys under our instruction, in all probability none of them can lay any claim to true genius. I am sure it is a good thing to tell them so. Make them realize that hundreds are now fitting for the business or professions they expect to enter; in every natural gift many of these future competitors are their equals, many are their superiors. Out of all this number quite a per cent must fail; many more can never attain more than mediocre results. Therefore, if boys expect to be among the few who win the prizes, they must gain "some advantage in the struggle."

It is an excellent stimulus to boys to study the biographies of men who have worked their way up, like Mr. Carnegie. It teaches them how little they can count on mere luck. They learn to make and value friends, but most of all it inspires them with the determination to rely mainly on themselves.

One of the most valuable lessons a boy can learn is that he cannot aspire to "mere survival"; there is no success that is not gained by an "abundant entrance" into prosperity. Success is impossible without gaining the confidence of men with whom we have to do. Confidence is based on "reserve power." Effort is a confession of weakness. An engine panting and whirling its drive-wheels to take a train over the grade excites only our fears that the next moment it may be overcome. When the public speaker stands wildly gesticulating, his brow beaded with sweat, his veins ready to burst, and his voice trembling in his efforts to hold the audience, his spell over us is broken; confidence gives place to pity; he is on the brink of failure.

It is said of Captain Cook when he visited the Sandwich Islands, that at first the natives thought him the husband of their goddess Pélé and did him divine hon-

ors. His influence over them was irresistible till, on one occasion, some one in a freak of anger struck him. He thoughtlessly uttered a cry or groan. Instantly the natives had their eyes opened. "He groans! He suffers pain!" they said. "He is no god, but a man like us!" and they fell on him and slew him.

In our age, power and power alone is divine. Most men want money, and office, and reputation, not because they care mainly for these things themselves, but because of the power they give. Now, when a man is seen to have no reserve power, to be compelled to make a great effort, it affects the public as groaning did the Islanders.

I think it is Ruskin who says that when we witness the wonderful phenomena of nature — the earthquake, the lightning, the tornado, or those other great miracles of which the transfiguration of nature in the month of May is a type — we never say, "There has been a great effort here," but, instead, "What a mighty power has wrought this!" Nature accomplishes her work with ease. She has a reserve force that we cannot measure, and we stand in her presence dumb with wonder or admiration.

Boys ought to be made to realize that success is within their reach only when people speak of them as we are wont to do of nature. They must work, they must put forth prodigious effort, but not in public. When they have reached manhood and faced the crises of life they must already have developed so much power and such skill in using it that great deeds shall be mere habit — a second nature. It must be as easy for them to win as it is for the matured tree to clothe itself with the most fragrant blossoms. Tell the boys what life really is, tell them what are the sole

conditions of success, tell them what their own manly nature requires for its development; then tell them that school life is the time, the only time, for growth and discipline and effort. The criticisms of the class room are kindly meant: "Faithful are the wounds of a friend." But in public life mistakes are fatal; the world is merciless. Make them realize that discipline is the pearl of great price, and for it no sacrifice will be too great.

Tell the boys that he who does his best now in little things will certainly be trusted later with larger duties. Tell them the old Bible story of how Saul, son of Kish, went out from his father's house on the humble mission to find the asses, and how, while searching faithfully, he found not them, but a kingdom. Warn them that those who now overlook little duties and go forth in search of a kingdom will not find it, but instead will end their lives where Saul began his.

What are the difficulties in the way of carrying out this programme? The chief one is the modern home. Let us make this clear by an illustration. The two stages in a boy's life correspond to the spheres of influence of his two parents. Till about twelve he is mother's boy. After that, father is more and more his ideal. We may represent the orbit of a boy's career by an ellipse. At each of these foci one parent is dominant. Beginning in infancy the heart-strings draw strongly on "A." At first there is no angle at "B," but slowly one appears and demonstrates increasing influence of the father. At twelve, "B" must increase but "A" decrease, till the positions of childhood have been nearly reversed. It is extremely unfortunate if, during this half of the orbit, either parent dies, for then the ellipse would become a circle. We

know how much the boy needs a father's strong hand and heroic inspiration.

During the twenties a change takes place. The boy becomes a man. Instead of the father we now find the world or business occupying the focus "B." Instead of the mother, his own home occupies "A," and the second half of life's orbit is begun. At first, business is all-engrossing, but as age advances a successful business man gradually so organizes his affairs that to an increasing degree he centres his thought in home, till in old age he reaches his second childhood, wife and children are all, and business is but a memory.

Two changes in the modern family are peculiarly unfavorable for the education of boys. First, the tendency of parents to hand over the care of children to nurses and governesses and allow themselves to be so wholly absorbed with business, clubs, and social functions. Children soon learn that the nurse or private instructor is only a servant whom they may thoroughly like, but not admire and love—love is begotten only by love, and without this element home life loses its motive power.

The second great change in the family is in the government. Formerly parents governed the children, and in many families they still do. But too often now the children govern the parents, being fitted for this important function by a prior course in commanding servants and nurses.

When children pass from kindergarten to the public school they learn that the teacher stands *in loco parentis*. It is this that makes the teacher's lot so hard. Boys may not be unruly; they are quite likely to be courteous and ambitious. But they must be interested and coaxed and persuaded and encouraged

till it seems as if the teacher had as many classes as separate pupils. The weak place in our modern educational system is that the teacher is forced to do too much for the pupils. We have run the doctrine that they must interest their classes into the ground. Boys are like sail vessels, becalmed when out of the instructor's influence. They ought to be steamships, able to create their own motive power and sail in the teeth of the gale.

There are two kinds of interest: (1) native or constitutional interests, like a child's appetite for sweetmeats or a bully's love of a fight; and (2) those larger interests which are known as sentiments.

When you assume responsibility for the interest of a student you are compelled to work with the former, to give away your opportunity. For it is a law of our native interests that they are shortlived and fickle. As no one toy can long amuse the child, so the game or puzzle or even the dramatic play that appeals only to this native endowment soon runs itself out, no matter how great the craze at first. A brilliant color when steadily looked at fatigues the eye till it can see only the complementary; so the mind soon becomes insensible to any one pleasure and can only feel a complementary disgust for the object that excited it. To hold the attention of pupils by making a study interesting, one must constantly offer something new, but boys will soon tire of this newness as the traveler in Europe gets tired with mere sightseeing and speaks of art galleries as mere acres of canvas. In the more abstract studies, when a teacher stakes his hold on a class on his power to interest them, he enters into competition with a thousand and one other attractions and bids against great odds. This is an effort doomed to failure from

the start. The boy is so constituted that animal and natural interests are stronger than the moral and intellectual ones. Besides, he is sure to have sentiments there in addition.

Let us take an extreme case. What scene could have been more attractive than that of the Transfiguration? To a Jew who was filled with reverence for the prophets, what could have so stirred every fibre of his being as the sight of Moses and Elias, and yet the Evangelist affirms that on that sacred mount the three disciples were heavy with sleep; the physical weariness outweighed spiritual attractions of the strongest kind. Again, in the garden of Gethsemane, when their Master was so overcome with sorrow that he sweat great drops of blood, thrice he awoke these same disciples and begged them to "watch with him one hour." Is not sympathy a strong natural emotion? Why, then, did it not overcome their fatigue? The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.

When a teacher depends on the interest he can excite in his study to hold boys to work, he attempts the impossible. Were miraculous power given him so that he could present the grandest truths with all the glory and clearness of the Transfiguration itself, could he reveal the laws of science with all the authority and terror of Sinai, — he could not compete with the thousand attractions of a material type that are so dear to a boy's nature.

All this is changed the moment a pupil is inspired by sentiment. Sentiments spring from an act of will. They are the feelings of ownership that arises from an investment. When one has identified himself with a cause so that he stands or falls with it, there occurs a transfer of all interests in self to the cause. The clear

realization that henceforth one can prosper only as his cause is successful, that "A" can determine himself only through "B," secures that "A" shall forget himself and think only of "B." This is ownership; not that "A" owns "B," but the reverse. The patriot is owned by his country; the soldier by his cause; the lawyer by his case; the man of business by his investments.

When the die has been cast and the person really committed to his end, then there is an extradition of values from the end to the necessary means. Everything that is essential as an indispensable condition of success commands attention, excites as keen an interest as one can feel in the final result. This is the secret of work. Things and deeds are not considered in their own light, but in relation to the end. Enthusiasm here is borrowed. Why do soldiers become so excited in striving to gain and hold a bridge? It is the key to victory. The moment they realize this, all their patriotism, all their love of home and honor, centre in this rickety old structure. Life itself is not too great a price to pay for its possession. In the charge, the officer does not feel the wound. He is completely mesmerized; fire does not burn him, ice cannot chill him, effort fails to weary him. His life becomes an appendix to the eleventh chapter of Hebrews; he escapes the edge of the sword, out of weakness is made strong, waxes valiant in fight, puts to flight the armies of the alien.

The strength of a sentiment is in proportion to the amount invested. Here is the secret of athletics. There is always an investment: "The honor of our team." The reputation of our school is at stake. So of the intercollegiate debate.

My proposition is, no matter what a student's native ability or tastes, there is no subject in which the keenest interest will not develop if only the right investment can be secured. Teach the boys to create their own interests by investments, and you cannot fail of the best results. The moment the investment is really made, the manly as opposed to the childish life is begun.

When a teacher depends on interesting a pupil by appealing to native interests, at best he can only give him information, but not discipline. He is simply trying to lead him to the tree of knowledge, which is also the tree of happiness. But when he inspires sentiment, he takes him by the hand and leads him to the tree of life, of which if he eat he shall live forever.

XXIII

RECREATION ¹

RECREATION is not merely necessary for preserving health and bodily vigor: it fills an important place in the purely educational discipline of college life. As the physical eye becomes insensible to a given color if it gazes too long and intently thereon, so does the susceptibility tend to become incapacitated for deep feeling if our thoughts are occupied too constantly with the same subject. To a student diversion rightly pursued is *re-creation*; it accomplishes for the susceptibility what sleep effects for the physical nerves. What insomnia is to the brain, the loss of the power of playing — the inability to find true diversion — is to the mind. Diversion need not always be through out-of-door sports. Light reading, society, even a change of work, may in a limited way secure the desired results, yet happy is the man who can enjoy physical diversion. When the giant Antæus wrestled with Hercules you remember that he became as weak as a child when lifted into the air; but all his strength returned the moment he touched the earth. In the “struggle for existence” our students and professional men are not at their best unless they can often enjoy those diversions that only the physical world can furnish. A brief vacation spent in hunting, fishing, boating, or riding will

¹ From an early pamphlet, “Review Topics,” on the general subject of attention and interest. It is perhaps not unwarranted to see in it suggestions from the author’s own experience.

often produce as startling a transformation in the mental condition of an overworked student as a few days of warm sunshine in May will accomplish for the trees: before, they were bare and lifeless, but spring is their re-creation; leaves and blossoms are the results.

It is one of the sad results of increasing years that enthusiasm in sports tends to diminish, vacation hangs more and more heavily on one's hands and he plunges again into work because he cannot endure the tediousness of trying to rest. Such a person is like those trees in which May awakens no response; they may yet be good timber, but their growth has ceased, and it will not be long ere they begin to decay. If any man can play, let him recognize this as a gift of God and cherish it as he would the most precious spiritual endowment; it is the gift we stand most in need of and are most likely to lose when we face the stern realities of life.

In addition to the general necessity for recreation there is often an immediate temporary advantage of great value to one who understands how to avail himself of it. Emotions are like electricity, which, though developed in one body, can easily "*be conducted*" to another of an entirely different nature. Take, for instance, the feelings of anger: these do not generally subside at once nor confine themselves to the objects that occasioned them. When we return home from the scene of our displeasure our most intimate friends who have in no way offended us often detect, hours after, that we have been "roiled," and perhaps have occasion to suppose that we are offended with them. Now this being the general law of the susceptibility, it follows that a dull, dry subject that awakens no enthusiasm *in* us can often be inspired *by* us if we first have been enthused ourselves from some other source, *i. e.*,

the interest in play or fiction can be transferred to study. To change the figure: getting up interest in a study may be like kindling a fire; all our efforts fail to ignite hard coal by itself, but a few sparks are sufficient to set charcoal aglow, and this can easily be made to fire the hardest anthracite.

But important as is the need of recreation it is still more important for us to use it rightly. In college there is at the present time great danger lest our outside enterprises be an injury rather than a help. Nothing can dwarf the susceptibility so much as play when it becomes an ultimate end instead of a means, and when the student attempts to serve two masters, *i. e.*, to make both study and play ends, then he feels the full effect of the great law that "*conflicting interests tend to neutralize each other.*" It would seem, then, that not all sports are favorable for college work. A very interesting fact has been recently discovered respecting gun-cotton, which is now being so extensively used instead of gunpowder by all the great Powers, *viz.*, it cannot well be exploded alone, neither will so powerful an agent as dynamite produce the desired result; it requires a "primer" that is complementary to itself, and this is just the case with work in college; studies and recreation must be complementary if the best results are to be secured.

XXIV

A PLEA FOR PHILOSOPHY IN THE PULPIT¹

No doubt the mere statement of this topic will awaken in the minds of some of you serious questioning. You will ask, Does not this amount to a plea for rationalism? Has not metaphysics always been a stumbling block to weak faith, and a source of skepticism and irreligion? Can any good thing come out of philosophy?

To this inquiry I must beg leave to give the Scriptural reply, "Come and see."

At first thought nothing could be more ridiculous than for a minister to expound a system of philosophy. It is his business to preach Christ crucified: "unto the Jews a stumbling block, unto the Greeks foolishness."

But true as this common view is, is it the *whole* truth? If the minister preaches Christ crucified aright, will he not show (at least unto them that are called) that Christ is the power of God, and the wisdom, — that is, the *philosophy* of God? Is there not a philosophy in the plan of salvation? not apparent at first sight, but really there; and profoundly true? *Has not the time come to declare it openly? Does not the age demand it?*

Just here an objector urges a protest. He says that while the church does not doubt the divine wisdom of the atonement, many feel strongly that it is not neces-

¹ Delivered as a lecture before the Yale Divinity School and as Carew Lecture before the Hartford Theological Seminary, both in 1898.

sary for the preacher *to try to search out the hidden mysteries of God*. Is not the mere fact of redemption through a crucified Christ *all that he can grasp and all that he needs to preach*? Must not the rest be left to the sphere of faith?

It is claimed that the mainspring of human action is not knowledge, but impulse. It is not a lack of philosophy that prevents men from doing right, but their slavery to passion. Their propensities possess them like demons. To offer to a demoniac philosophy as a remedy is to mock him. Only the miracle of divine power can save: "This kind goeth not out, but by prayer and fasting." Suppose a city should build a large hospital and fill it with patients in advanced stages of disease; but the city fathers, instead of employing the best nurses and medical assistance, should hire the most expert investigators and professors to read to those at the point of death learned lectures on physiology, and long tables of statistics on hygiene and athletics. Would this, it is asked, be more ridiculous than for the church to place in its pulpits expounders of philosophy instead of preachers of the gospel?

The truth is, claims the objector, that sinful human nature can be benefited by no other help than that of the Great Physician. Or, to change the symbolism, sinful men are prisoners of the devil, taken captive by him at his will, and there is no hope for them unless they can be redeemed. Sinners cannot help themselves; their strength is all gone; their resources are utterly exhausted; their only relief must come from the intervention of the mighty government of God. The preacher is not a philosopher, but a minister plenipotentiary from the court of heaven, through whom the divine negotiations are conducted and the

divine assistance is offered. He speaks not by his own authority nor by the will of man; if his message be not from God it is naught.

Go back to the early days of our Civil War, before the slaves were freed, and judge whether at that time the colored bondsman would have been cheered and strengthened by the ablest orators portraying eloquently the government of liberty and civil rights. Was not an Emancipation Proclamation to be issued by the authority of the government their only hope? Did this proclamation need to give a single explanation or discuss a single problem in administration? No; it was *creative*, not *instructive*. Lincoln, like God, simply said, "Let there be light," and there was the "light that never shone on sea or land" in the hearts of four millions who had lived all their lives in darkness and in the shadow of death. The Christian preacher is a commissioner sent out from God with God's emancipation proclamation to sinful men. In the days of the Apostles, to preach meant simply to herald; to announce with authority the glad tidings, the gospel of divine intervention, and it is claimed that the apostles in every age can have no other mission.

You will ask what I have to say to this conception of a preacher's function.

In reply, I would give three answers. First: It seems to me a pity that those who grasp with such clearness this great truth concerning the divine plan of salvation, and who thereby show such a keenness of insight into the limitations of human nature that all true students of social problems might well envy them — it seems to me such a pity that these persons should make the great mistake of supposing that this is the only truth in the Bible, and that the only need

of sinful men is that of the new birth, and of help to overcome passion. These religious workers who spend all their efforts in converting men, and getting them to unite with the church, and then leave them to shift for themselves in the religious life, make a very near approach to adopting the methods which Spain has followed in dealing with the non-combatants in Cuba. Such converts are little better than spiritual reconcentrados, and they excite our pity in the extreme.

According to every representation in Scripture, the new birth is *only* the beginning of a spiritual life. He who is born again is represented, not as a full-grown man, but as a helpless infant. The Scriptures do distinctly teach that the beginning of the spiritual life is due to the divine parentage: "Ye must be born again." But the Scriptures just as distinctly teach that the sustenance of this life when once begun — that the growth and the development of the spiritual infant and his unfolding into spiritual manhood, the measure of whose stature is the fullness of Christ — involves human agency, and human assistance, and *advancement in knowledge*, as well as divine help. "*Add to your faith knowledge.*"

Nearly the whole of the New Testament outside the Gospels is made up of exhortations, not to the unconverted, but to the churches in different places. Of the sermons the Apostles preached to the unregenerated only fragments have been preserved, but the admonitions and instruction to those who have passed from death unto life fill the Epistles from beginning to end. The idea of Paul was that his first duty was to the church. The church is as dear to God as the apple of His eye, and this is the relationship it should

hold to the preacher; it should be the first object of his thought and the object of his best endeavors.

Our problem now becomes the question, How is the preacher to care for the church? How secure the growth and development of those who have turned from darkness into light, from nature unto God? The teaching of Christ and the Apostles is clearly to the effect that the great sanctifying agency must be the truth. "Father, sanctify them through thy truth." Elsewhere Christ states of just what the spiritual life consists. "This is life eternal, to know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." To be guided by the holy spirit of truth is to come into a larger apprehension of the divine character, and of the divine plan, and to be able to fit one's own life into that plan so that God may work through the individual both to will and to do His good pleasure. As Christ himself grew in wisdom as well as in stature, and thereby in favor with God and man, must not all Christians do the same? Is not the river of the water of life, clear as crystal, that proceeds directly from the throne of God and the Lamb — is not this river the larger knowledge of God and of His plan, and is not the tree of life, whose leaves are for the healing of the nations, the church watered by this stream? Can it be watered by any other?

To put the question concretely: Is it possible for us to truly worship God, that is, reverence and adore Him and be inspired by His perfections unless we can in some measure come into a knowledge of Him and His work? When we read of Christ offered for sin, can we say, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts," with sincerity and deep conviction, and not as mere lip service, unless we have apprehended and compre-

hended God's plan and purpose? It is sometimes claimed that mystery is essential to religion, and that if the mysteries could be removed it would be taking away our reverence; that a God understood would be no God at all. But I beg leave to ask you to what are you looking forward in your future life? To a period of greater mystery, or, with the Apostle Paul, do you say, "Then shall I know even as I am known?" Will the sanctity, the love, and the adoration of worshipers in the New Jerusalem be diminished by this increase of knowledge? Must not the law of life which holds in heaven hold on earth? Therefore in proportion as we can reach out towards that larger knowledge of God, is not the light of that other world breaking upon the hilltops of this life with its morning splendor? This is the aim of philosophy, and I feel that to this end the preacher must strive if the Spirit speaks through him to the church.

My second answer is the claim that if the mere preaching of the fact of an atonement was sufficient formerly to persuade men to repent and be born again, it is no longer adequate. Our age is quite different from that of two or three generations ago. Nowadays men do not feel the need of regeneration; their whole attitude towards religion is changed. Formerly religion was primarily a preparation for the next world. This life was only a porch to the great temple of the hereafter. De Tocqueville used to say, "In vain do you attempt to make men religious until they begin to think about death." As the Egyptians spent their time in building tombs and embalming their dead, and so became a nation of undertakers and sextons, so our fathers made the church priestly in its functions, and most concerned for the life to come.

Was it accidental that so many of their houses of worship joined the cemeteries, and that these were called churchyards? Or was it accidental that the sexton was the usher? As Dr. Hall said, "He who ultimately conducted you to your long sleep in the churchyard very properly conducted you to your short nap in the church pew."

All this is different in our age. Whether the change is for the better or the worse it is not important to determine. We recognize the fact; we are convinced that a recent speaker was true to present life when he said that men nowadays think ninety-nine times as to how they are going to live to once as to how they are going to die.

The public at large are beginning to feel that there is no dividing line between time and eternity, the here and the hereafter; that a man's character will be governed by exactly the same laws, no matter how changed his environment may be. From a scientific point of view, then, men determine the value of religion by its influence upon the present life. If not essential for the life that now is, they ask what evidence do we have that it will be of any avail hereafter? On the other hand, if you can show us that it is the mainspring of existence here, we will trust it now, and we will trust it for the future also. If we desire to save men we must go to them where they are and not wait for them to come to us. This forces the preacher to meet men on a scientific basis, and show the great demand this present life surely makes for Christ's atoning work. If there be no such demand, if the atonement is wholly for the future world, then why did Christ come to earth at all? Why did he not wait till humanity had passed over to the other life, and then

offer Himself a sacrifice for sin? Verily there must be some good reason for His earthly mission, something in this life that made it imperative. If this could only be made clear to the public, would they be so indifferent towards the gospel? Can the preacher in this age meet the crisis if he fail to preach Christ as the wisdom or philosophy of God?

My third answer is that just at present certain false conceptions of God and duty, indeed, of life in general, are so prevalent that men now are biased against the gospel. They will not hear when you simply preach the fact of redemption. It is nearly as hard to reach the public in that way now as it was in Jerusalem, back in the days of the Pharisees. Whatever may be true of men's creed, nothing is clearer than the fact that the personality and sovereignty of God are not a large factor in the practical life and thought of our age.

Prayer is too often not communion with God, but valued for its subjective elevating influence, — an attempt by reflection to lift one's self to a higher level.

Many can think of no other divine reward or divine punishment than that which comes through the causal relation by which their own actions work out their own salvation. The deep sense of sin which finds expression in such strong terms in the early life of the church, and at the time of the Reformation, is hardly intelligible to a modern audience. Everywhere in Scripture the sense of divine displeasure is the keenest sorrow which the inspired writers knew. Is this the attitude of the public to-day? Is this the attitude of even a majority in our churches? No doubt they believe in God as the Creator and Preserver of the universe, but, in their conscious thought, does the Divine

Being inspire their daily life? Is not their whole creed summed up in the words, "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap"? Is not this making impersonal law all and in all?

How can we expect from such hearers a response to the proclamation of the gospel? What conscious need have they of the forgiveness of sin? What is the significance of the atonement if the main thought of your life is simply of cause and effect? Am I wrong in speaking of this state of affairs as practical pantheism? Does it not remove the fear of God from before the eyes of this generation? Does it not take away the inspiration which enabled Paul and Luther and Lincoln to stand firm in the path of duty when those at their side faltered?

It is not merely in relationship to God, but also in relationship to men, that this practical pantheism appears. The exigencies of business often lead to an impersonal view of those with whom we have to do. Too often the laboring classes are not recognized as persons, but as mere things; as so many hands; known only by their tag number, and estimated by their commercial value. On the other hand, corporations are equally impersonal, since they are said to have no souls, and often have very little conscience.

It not unfrequently happens that social standing depends not on merit or manliness, but on such impersonal possessions as wealth, position, or inherited titles. Is not this same condition apparent in politics? Personality here would involve individual judgment, each man would be conceded the liberty to think and follow the dictates of his own conscience; but are not these prerogatives often sacrificed freely to party organizations? Is not "bossism" the rule of the machine

instead of the person? Is not the de-personalizing of the voter apparent in our municipal rings?

I can discover but one remedy for this state of affairs. The church must not merely affirm the personality of God — for to many this would be a mere formula — the church must help men realize the divine personality; it must force men to see that personality and sovereignty are the supreme facts of the universe. But this cannot be done unless you philosophize.

But, you say, surely you do not expect us to turn professors and teach Kant and Wundt to our congregations as a part of our divine message. Is anything more unintelligible than the abstract formulæ of such writers, or more confusing, and, to a popular mind, more absurd, than their conclusions? Common men have no trouble in apprehending the external world and the great facts of every-day life, but philosophers make easy things hard and puzzle their brains over problems that do not exist — at least this is so in the material world. If they stumble so here, ought we to wonder that they “go all to pieces” over spiritual reality? To the ordinary man they are blind leaders of the blind; how can you ask us to impose on our congregations such leadership?

In reply to this question let me say a few words in behalf of the much-abused philosophers.

It is not difficult for orators and newspapers to raise the loud laugh at their expense. We confess that their terminology is often difficult, and their doctrines at first sight appear very contradictory, but what Macaulay said in defense of the Puritans holds also of them: “It is not from the laughers alone that the truth is to be learned.” We may paraphrase still further from Macaulay and say, The ridiculous part of their work

is on the surface. He who runs may read. But most of their peculiarities are mere external badges, like the signs of Free Masonry or the dress of the friars. We regret that these badges are not more attractive; we regret that a body of men, to whose courage and talents mankind has owed inestimable obligations, have not always had the lofty elegance of style which distinguishes novelists and dramatists, or the easy wit for which after-dinner speakers are so often celebrated. But we must make our choice; we will, like Bassanio in the play, turn from the specious caskets of gold and silver which often contain only the death's head and the fool's head, and fix on the small, plain leaden chest of philosophy which holds civilization's great treasure, truth.

Some time ago a student expressed his estimate of German philosophy in these words: "Bricks without straw, but plenty of mud, though," and this is about the estimate that any one will have who gives to philosophical writers only a superficial attention. General Porter, in his "Campaigning with Grant," speaks of the great difficulty that Union soldiers had in making forced marches in the early spring in front of Petersburg. Coming upon a division in danger of sinking out of sight in a swamp, he says, if in after years any of this army should be asked "whether they had been through Virginia," they could truthfully say, "Yes, in a number of places." It is only in this sense that many go through a course in philosophy.

But if one were not making a campaign of criticism, if one were really in earnest in his search for truth, he would find this so-called mud very different stuff from what it first appeared to be. He would find it composed of ingredients quite as marvelous as those Rus-

kin found in the mud of a manufacturing village. You remember Ruskin's description of these chemical elements, which at first had so repelled him. He says: "Beginning with the clay. Leave it still quiet to follow its own instinct of unity, and it becomes not only white, but clear, not only clear, but hard, not only clear and hard, but so set that it can deal with the light in a wonderful way and gather out of it the loveliest blue rays only, refusing the rest. We call it then a sapphire."

Then he takes the sand and, under similar conditions, finds it arranging itself in such a form that it has the power to reflect not merely the blue rays, but blue, green, purple, and red in the greatest beauty in which they can be seen through any hard material whatsoever. We call it then an opal.

Encouraged by these discoveries, Ruskin sets himself to examine what seems to be the filthy soot. It cannot make itself white at first, but, instead of being discouraged, tries harder and harder and comes out at last the hardest thing in the world; in exchange for the blackness that it had, it obtains the power of reflecting all the rays of the sun at once, in the vividest blaze that any solid thing can shoot. We call it then a diamond. The ounce of slime which we despised has, under favorable conditions, become three of the most precious jewels—a sapphire, an opal, and a diamond.

In a similar manner those difficult and confusing philosophical treatises, with their repulsive terminology, that seem so absurd on their first reading, will, if time and thought are given to them by a candid mind, crystallize into the most precious truths that have ever rewarded the search of a finite human being. It is just these truths, in their crystallized form,

that preachers need to make accessible to their congregation in this age of criticism and reconstruction. Among the great truths thus brought within our reach are these three:

First, Idealism; or the conception of the universe, material as truly as moral, as dependent on God for its continued existence from moment to moment, as truly as the rainbow on the continued shining of the sun. Philosophy takes literally Christ's words, that not a sparrow falls to the ground "without your Father." So also the words of the Apostle Paul: "For in Him we live, and move, and have our being."

Secondly, the conception of Personality is the ultimate fact of the universe. From which it follows that all nature as truly as all human history has not merely a scientific, but also an ethical and a religious, import, and is progressing towards the realization of divine ideals. This is the foundation for all true optimism. Philosophy deals with practical pantheism by tracing it to its sources. All our best thinkers agree that the mainspring of life is not intelligence, but feelings and will, or, technically, impulse.

But two positions are quite possible on this basis. First, man has two kinds of impulse. Those that are animal, and work blindly, like instinct, and those that are spiritual, which can realize themselves only through clear, though not necessarily formulated, cognitions.

The second position denies this fundamental distinction. It affirms that all our impulses, both animal and spiritual, are akin to instinct and act blindly except where they encounter resistance. Just as electricity runs along a good conductor without giving any evidence of its presence, but is converted into light

and heat by the resistance of the carbons, so it is only where our impulse experiences certain antagonism that it awakens conscious thought and reflection.

This view makes personality the transient phase of life, due to peculiar antagonism in our nature, and thus an indication of imperfection. We can think of man as personal now, but he must be tending towards a state when his individual consciousness will disappear. All progress will be illustrated by those kinds of action, like articulation, elocution, or the mastery of a foreign language, which require the most painful effort at the beginning, but which, when thoroughly mastered, become wholly automatic and drop into unconsciousness. It would not be considered an exhibition of culture for one to have to stop in an oration to think of his grammar, or, in society, to study out his etiquette. Perfection here is unconsciousness; and if all life corresponds to these types, the same must be true of our virtue and of our religion. Indeed, the highest success would be impossible to one who depends on calculation. Either human beings cannot think at all, or the conceptions they apply to men must be the standards by which they judge of God. Our mental processes are exactly the same whether we think about divine things or about human affairs. It follows that if personality, intelligence, consciousness is a transitional stage with men, it cannot be attributed to God. He must be perfect, therefore He must have advanced beyond this stage of existence.

A true philosophy lays the axe at the root of this tree. It recognizes clearly that spiritual impulses are not blind, but can act only through intelligence. Then perfection of life will consist in perfection of knowledge and personality; then it will be impossible to

think of the Divine Being as other than omniscient, the tender, loving Father. Impersonal law will give place to the liberty of the sons of God. This is the only true view. Take Longfellow's *Evangeline*. The impulse to follow her lover through all these years of wandering is indeed the mainspring of her action, but can this impulse, acting blindly, find him? Is there a more pathetic scene in literature than when, floating down the Ohio River, her party lands on an island for rest, in the middle of the day, at the very time when her lover is rowing by on the other side? The animal impulse to rest can execute itself without intelligence. When *Evangeline* was tired she could drop to sleep without understanding the processes involved in slumber; she could take a reclining position without knowing the physiological principles which required it, for these animal impulses are as blind and automatic as magnetism which turns the needle to the pole. Had her spiritual impulse of devotion to her lover been of this type she would have moved towards him as unconsciously as a stone falls towards the earth. But because the spiritual impulses could only be guided by intelligence, and she knew not what was going on about her, she embarks again, and every hour carries her farther and farther in the direction opposite to that taken by her lover.

What is true here is true in the religious life, if we do not add to our faith knowledge in the services of God. We need a philosophy of the divine life to fit our own actions into the course of events and make our lives count in our generation.

The relation of intelligence to impulse is that of the railroad to the steam engine. The railroad is powerless to haul the train if the engine is weak; the cars do

not advance; but the most powerful engine without a well-built road is either helpless or can only move itself to destruction. We freely concede that something more than knowledge is needed for the divine life. There must be the impulse from above. But when this is given, will not Christ's words turn out to be true, "This is life eternal, to know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." Only such knowledge will satisfy one's search for truth, one's love of wisdom. This is the philosophy which the preacher must bring to his congregation.

The great doctrine of Sovereignty is the third of the jewels that crystallize out of philosophical discussions. This is something infinitely more than mere cause and effect. It is the ultimate principle of all personal relationship, not merely between God and man, but quite as much between man and his fellows. Philosophy shows that human government and divine government stand or fall together. We cannot hold to the former and deny the latter. If God is not sovereign over man, then surely no finite human being, or collection of human beings called the State, has any right to exercise sovereignty over unwilling subjects; all true government is therefore sacred. But there is no government where there are no sanctions to the law, for then laws become mere advice. When men realize this, the fact of an atonement is their only hope for mercy.

Having spoken of the subject-matter with which philosophy is concerned and of its great value to the preacher, let me now speak of the methods of work employed in philosophy — of the processes. You will better understand why philosophy is so easily misjudged; but you will also clearly see that these methods are sure in time to receive large recognition.

The philosopher is a man who has discovered that the real meaning and value of things can be accurately determined only as we judge *the part in the light of the whole*; he lays emphasis on the fact that, if we have a wrong idea of the whole, we distort, and oftentimes make meaningless, the parts; therefore he makes a special effort to look at things, especially at religious things, comprehensively and accurately.

It will be seen thus that philosophy is simply *intelligence* at its best. All intelligence works backward; even in trivial matters we have to start with the knowledge of the end before we can determine the means. The builder of an humble dwelling-house must have an idea of the finished structure before he is able to break the ground and lay the foundations. "What is it going to be?" "What scheme is now on foot?" "What is the plan of the campaign?" "What is the speaker driving at?" In such phrases intelligent observers express their inability to form an opinion of an object, or an act, or a statement, until they discover its relationship to the whole of which it is a part or a means.

But if we must deal with even *trivial* things in this way, can we be intelligent if we do not follow the same methods in apprehending larger affairs? The idea that the universe in which we live is a whole — the notion that mind and matter, history and revelation, church and state, time and eternity, are not separate wholes, but parts that somehow fit into each other, and can be understood only in relationship to the grand end they serve — this is the idea both of philosophy and of religion, and is coming to be the view of science itself.

There are some who affirm that as a true knowledge of the material heavens was a revelation to men of that very earth with which they supposed themselves

so familiar, and transformed their ideas of its size, its importance, and its laws, taking all the flatness out of it, and revealing it to us as one of the stars, so a true knowledge of the spiritual firmament would alter our whole estimate of life; would make many things that now seem of undue importance appear trivial, and other things that are now trivial of prime importance; would for the first time reveal the true dignity and grandeur of human nature, and would make the heavy afflictions of the present seem light because we should discover that in reality they are working out for us an exceeding and eternal weight of glory. All this it is claimed we could discover if we would only look, not at the things that are seen with the physical eye, for these are temporal and fragmentary and not the true whole; but at the things which are not seen, that is, at the eternal plan in accordance with which the universe is working itself out. To do this is the attempt of philosophy. Only such a view is true intelligence; and, whether the effort succeed or fail, the honest man feels that "it is better to have loved and lost than never to have loved at all," when the love is a love of wisdom.

But it is objected that philosophy is too abstract to be of assistance to the church. We reply, those who call themselves plain, common-sense people, and not the philosopher, are guilty of abstraction, and live in an ideal or imaginary universe. This is evident when you remember that an abstraction is the separating in thought that which is not, or cannot be, separated in reality. It is the taking of a part as a little whole by itself, instead of looking at it in its true relationship to the larger whole, as philosophy demands. An abstraction is therefore something that is easy to grasp,

while the concrete taxes our intellect to the utmost to apprehend it.

For instance, if you tell a man to think just of the shape of this table, and allow him to forget its material structure, its value, its history, its scientific properties, you have something that can be readily pictured; an idea that any one can tuck away in his brain without causing cerebral congestion. But if one is required to think of the table as it really is; to note its richness of vegetable fibre, its wonderful chemical and molecular composition; to realize the processes by which it is possible for this dull wood to be the object of that attention and interest on the part of every fixed star and constellation in all the infinite depths of space that we term gravitation; to realize the processes by which this table, dead matter as it is, small as it is, hidden away in the recesses of this building, attracts every other particle of matter in the universe, directly as the mass and inversely as the square of the distance; if you ask how it can discover the habitation of these distant heavenly bodies and make friends with them, when some are so remote that the light which left their surface on the first Easter morn has not yet reached us — if you ask the plain common-sense man, as he calls himself, to think of what actually takes place in this dull table, he begins to grow dizzy and accuses you of abstraction and mystery.

But if instead of dull wood we take an object a little more delicate in structure, like a needle, and bring it into contact with a magnet, how much more difficult will be our problem! For we should then have to conceive the change which comes over it which makes it able in the darkest night, in the thickest fog, in the heaviest storm on the Atlantic, to keep its bearings,

and without any confusion point steadily to the North Pole. Yes, more than this: since its variations show that in some way it is conscious of the rise and progress of a cyclone in the sun, and the slightest change there awakens its keenest sympathy, the philosopher asks, Is the common-sense view of this needle as lifeless and inert, true to the actual facts, or is it an abstraction, taking a part for the whole?

But if a steel needle is something so grand, so wonderful, that the most thorough scientific study has not yet begun to conceive aright its real nature, if there is such a hidden depth of meaning and miracle in its motions, can you blame the philosopher for pausing, with reverence and awe, in his study of a finite human mind, even though it be that of a mere child? Is he abstract and visionary when he asks how much is potential to the humblest human being, what are his hidden spiritual powers, and to what disturbances in the unseen world conscious perturbations are a response? To the common-sense man these questions savor of mysticism. No man is great in the eyes of his own servant, and shrewd, practical men serve each other according to the standards of trade until they have learned the foibles of human nature, and come to think this is all there is to humanity. Which is abstract and which is concrete? Who comes nearer the true conception of humanity: the shrewd politician, the master of the sweating shop who looks down upon men as his slaves and calls them the masses, with Thackeray wrongly spacing the letter "m," or the philosopher who, seeing man perform those deeds which Scripture ascribes to Deity, tries to conceive of him as *partaking of the divine nature*? For man as well as God has measured the waters and meted out heaven with a span, and

comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance. With whom took he counsel? And who instructed him and taught him knowledge, and showed him the path of understanding?

Only as the preacher employs these processes and can present this point of view to his audience can he lift them up to a level where they will grasp the divine estimate that man is made "only a little lower than the angels," and crowned with honor and everlasting life; that "the redemption of the humblest is worth the life of the Son of God." Only from this point of view can our modern civilization realize in any adequate manner the exceeding sinfulness of sin, or truly reverence and worship the author of man's being.

The present is a time that needs this point of view more than any former period. The higher criticism is a serious experience for many who have considered the Bible the only star in nature's sky, — the single light that God has given to direct our steps. Many feel towards the Bible to-day as the two disciples did towards Christ when on the way to Emmaus. They said: "We trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel."

Whatever may be one's own attitude towards the higher criticism, it is impossible not to sympathize with those who have built their whole faith on verbal inspiration. Their first impressions as they take up the polychrome Bible and see the results of the highest scholarship made visible by the different colors are not unlike that of the colored person in the South who, at a somewhat advanced age, had his first experience in riding in the railroad cars. We can easily imagine how it came to pass that he was frightened to death.

For years he has heard of the wonderful invention, but, as he has lived far back in the country, it has all been a myth. At length determined to see with his own eyes, he makes his way to the city; he finds the station, and boards the train. While sitting there wondering how it will seem to ride so fast, he notices the train on the other track begin to move in an opposite direction; at first very slowly, and then more swiftly, until it makes him dizzy to look at it. This is followed by an interminable line of freight cars, and, to his infinite surprise, these are followed by a whole procession of high board fences and telegraph poles. And when these have gotten by, terrible to relate, the whole landscape is traveling past him at a furious rate. Can he believe his eyes? Can solid rock and mountains move? Surely it is so. There can be but one explanation: it is the very Day of Judgment; for is it not written on that day "The little hills shall skip like lambs, and the mountains like rams at the presence of the Lord, at the presence of the Lord of the whole earth"?

Modern scholarship gives the lay mind something of a similar shock; and not a few are so frightened that their religious faith expires completely. But could the preacher hold up beside the higher criticism the philosophic view which makes all nature and human history the word of God, and show that revelation is a commentary on those great truths of the moral life which God has written, not on tables of stone, but on the fleshy tables of our hearts, then the congregation would discover that the fundamental truths of religion are unchanged by all the changes that are taking place about us, and that the foundations of God stand sure.

Truth shines the brightest in just such a time as the present. Philosophy is something like astronomy, in that night is a peculiarly favorable time to make observations. Had the sun always been below the horizon, we should have had no astronomy, and Columbus would never have learned to pilot his way across unknown seas to America. For stars there would have been none, and without these we never could have divined the mysteries of the heavens or the revelation of the earth. "A dome of blue lighted by a single torch; an irregular plain of sand and water" would ever have remained our universe. Astronomy was born of superstition (astrology) and cradled in the dark.

Philosophy had a similar birth. It did not originate in the immediate light of revelation. Had men always dwelt in the dread mysterious presence of oracles and miracles, had there been no ominous silence, no moral darkness that might be felt; men had never dreamed of that firmament of thought wherein arise and shine the truths of the eternal. They would still be looking for God in the heavens above, or in the earth beneath; they would not easily find Him in the still small voice, in that holy of holies in our hearts.

Is there no inference to be drawn from the fact that the Jews, a nation to whom the oracles of God had been given; whose only textbook was the Old Testament and the literature concerning it; that this people, who had eschewed all philosophy, failed to understand the Bible and rejected the Messiah when he came; whereas Greek-speaking peoples, who had felt the influence of Greek scholarship and Greek philosophical inquiry, accepted Christianity, and therefore our New Testament is written in Greek instead of Hebrew. If philosophy were not a John the Baptist

to prepare the way of the Lord, could these events in history be quite intelligible?

Has not the church a duty to society and to the state in these troubled times? Ought it not to aim to make good citizens, and be wholly the ally of reform? Have we not reached, or nearly reached, a stage in the development of civilization when further progress will require exact comprehension of the great principles that dominate man's spiritual nature? In early times business success was a matter of happy guesswork. Men did not stop to figure out the cost of raw materials, of transportation, of manufacturing, and of commissions, as is now done. Mathematics then was merely a business luxury, the margin of profits was so large. But the time came when mathematics became a necessity; when only the most exact bookkeeping and the most accurate precision could prevent disaster.

Is not a similar change taking place in the social and political world? In the complex organization of modern life, can we longer trust to happy guesses; can we blindly try costly experiments to reform present evils? If I read aright the signs of the times, the day is not far distant when our social and political questions, and our international relations, will be recognized as much profounder problems than many are now willing to admit. The present war painfully reminds us that the days of our national isolation are over. As, according to Scripture, all heaven was disturbed, and the life of the Son of God had to be sacrificed because of the evil wrought out by the powers of darkness in this little planet, away out on the outskirts of space, and peopled by such very finite beings as man, so our national peace is disturbed, and the

lives of our bravest and best are demanded by wrongs done in the isles of the sea or in distant colonies of the earth. For the solution of these problems, as well as those of a social type, our statesmen and our voters will begin to feel the need of higher moral standards and a purer ethical life than that which has dominated the nations when selfishness and financial prosperity were the guiding motives.

The science of education has advanced so far that our teachers are turning to psychology for guidance; and the result is a wonderful advance in the efficiency of our schools. Why should not the time come when statesmen should feel that, for the improvement of government and society, there is imperatively needed the guidance of those great spiritual truths, those spiritual laws that a true philosophy reveals? But God's government over man is confessedly the incarnation of just these truths and just these laws. It is an object lesson as to how man should govern his fellow-man. Why, then, should not the philosophy of religion in time be as highly prized by our social reformers as is the philosophy of education by our great educators?

These problems have an economic side, but they are primarily infinitely more than that; and any attempt to settle them on an economic foundation is an attempt to build on the sand. Such questions as are involved in socialism, for instance, in criminology and penology, in marriage and divorce, and even in municipal reform, are at their foundation religious questions. They can be satisfactorily adjusted only when they conform to the great principles which find expression in the Kingdom of God on earth.

When we come to those problems involved in our international relations it begins to be evident that the

kingdoms of this earth must become the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, before our swords can be beaten into ploughshares and our spears into pruning hooks, and the nation learn war no more.

That was a grand conception of the old prophet when he predicted that the lion should lie down with the lamb; for it suggests how this wonderful change is to be accomplished. The lion is a carnivorous animal. The moment he stops hurting and destroying the lamb he will starve to death. He must devour the lamb or die. Any attempts to tame him, or to cut his claws, or to chain him, do not hasten the fulfillment of this prophecy. There is only one way it can be realized: his nature must be changed so that he shall eat straw like the ox.

So long as the nations of the world are selfish they must devour the weaker races. There must be wars and rumors of war. It is only by the regeneration of mankind — it is only when the state, and institutions, as truly as individuals, are born again, and the reign of righteousness and love, that is, self-sacrifice, shall be established, that the age of universal peace will dawn upon us. The true philosophy of man's spiritual nature puts its whole emphasis upon these facts, and surely the preacher can do no greater service to his age than to give his congregation spiritual insight into the religious principles at the foundation of society.

XXV

SUNDAY IN THE MOUNTAINS: A MEDITATION¹

THE first record of a vacation was that of the Sabbath when God rested from all His works, "wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day and hallowed it." There is something worshipful among these grand old hills in northern New Hampshire which makes one feel that it is godlike to rest from his labors of the year, and he wonders why, in the solemn quiet of the eternal calm which rests upon the mountains, he too should not call his vacation a Sabbath. Every sheet of water takes the color of its environment or of the sky overhead, and, when man's mind is calm enough to reflect, he responds to those he is with. This season the hotels are so deserted that the summer guest is alone with nature, and the spell which she throws over him is a holy calm and a strange contrast to the business anxiety which frets him in counting-room or on the street. Stocks may rise or fall, banks may crash and mills shut down, but the solemn silence of these old hills is as undisturbed as on Creation's morn. Men may come and men may go, but these hills rest forever.

If one has a scientific turn of mind, his thought wanders back to that period of grand upheaval and convulsion when they were reared by the folding of the earth's crust; that was the period of their activity, their Wall Street panic; but they have now retired from active labor, and every line of their wrinkled brows

¹ Intervale, Aug. 6, 1893.

speaks of the work that has been done and of the rest that has followed. When one goes to the seashore, whose troubled waters cannot rest, but continually cast up mire and dirt, he lives in the present, and finds in the ceaseless activity of the waves a symbol of the fluctuations of the market and the change in politics and society. But when he comes to the mountains, whose bald tops of solid adamant are unconscious of time, he finds awakened within himself a consciousness of the Eternal, to whom all the petty cares of life are like the passing clouds or the shadows of a summer's day. Truly, the mountains are the place for rest. And yet it is not the rest of the grave, for that which overcomes one at every turn is the consciousness of life, of strength, of reserve power, not death, but immortality. Eternity, not time, is before him, and in him, and the Eternal speaks through Him and the hills echo His voice, and I said, "O, my God, take me not away in the midst of my days; thy years are throughout all generations. Of old hast thou established the mountains, and the hills are the work of thy hands. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure. Yea, all of them shall wax old like a garment, and as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed; but thou art the same and thy years shall have no end."¹ The thought which has impressed me over and over during the few days of my stay here is this: The strength of the hills is His also; that nature is not something apart from God, but simply the hem of His garment, or rather the veil over His face like that which Moses wore when he came down from the mount where he talked with God face to face. The

¹ It will be noted that the language is in part quoted and in part adapted from Psalm 102 : 24-26.

other thought, the companion of this, is the names which have been given to these hills, names which figure prominently in our country's history: Mounts Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Lafayette. What is the sense of this nomenclature? Is a mountain simply a monument to a great man's name, a monument reared by nature instead of by man? This is ridiculous. I feel like apologizing even for the suggestion, and yet there is a fitness in the names. Wherein lies the symbolism; is it not this? These mountains were made of common clay, they were once the bed of the ocean, but the great geological forces which shaped our earth and transformed chaos into cosmos lifted them high in air, and gave them a formative influence in determining the climate and fertility of the country at their feet. So our great men in history—men like Washington and Lincoln—were men of the common people, but they were not self-made men. Those great historic forces which have been shaping the destiny of the race brought about the convulsions in our national life that forced them to the front, lifted them high above their fellows, gave them a formative influence in determining the conditions of our national career; and as the mountains drop down the dew, condense the clouds, cool the heated air and send it back laden with balsam odors, and give birth to those streams which have created our mill towns and brought wealth and prosperity where there was only desolation, so have these great men blessed all who came after them, and lived immortal lives. Catching the first beams of the morning sun of reform, and reflecting the last rays of the day whose work is done, their biographies become mountains of our historic life, whither we turn in our partisan troubles and bigoted

strifes for that mental vacation, those grand thoughts, that champagne atmosphere of truth, which is the only tonic for a weak mind. And now whence these forces of history, whence these forces of geology, if the strength of the hills is His also? Is not the spirit of the prophet the inspiration of the age? are not the instincts of human society a power through which God is working to will and to do of His good pleasure in human affairs? Is not this the difference between the old dispensation and the new? Moses received his revelation on tables of stone from the top of Mount Sinai shrouded with clouds and thick darkness. We find God revealed in the lives of our great men; they are our Sinais, and their summits, instead of being shrouded with clouds and thick darkness, are lighted up with the light of coming day, and we learn that the strength of the hills is His also.

XXVI

IN MEMORY OF PRESIDENT SEELYE¹

I HAVE been asked to speak for the Faculty on this occasion. I assure you that we all feel that a great man has passed from our midst; that he who is laid low was a tower of strength for the college; that it was our personal "guide, philosopher, and friend" who has become weary and has passed on into his rest. Each of us cries out in the language of Elisha, "My father, my father, the chariots of our college Israel and the horsemen thereof."

When Christ was taken from His disciples they were bewildered, and stood gazing into the heavens after Him till two angels rebuked them. The angels who rebuked us as we disconsolately gazed into President Seelye's open grave were Hope and Memory. They assured us that he was not unclothed, but clothed upon. Him shall we see again, not in his weakness, but in his strength. Then they bade us remember the words which he spake while he was yet with us, and told us to pray that the college might receive a double portion of his spirit. It is not necessary to speak of our deep affection for our departed leader, nor of our pride in his splendid career. In a republic, titles of nobility do not depend upon the caprice of the sovereign, but are the gift of recognition by the people for

¹ Commencement, 1895. Julius Hawley Seelye, president of Amherst College 1876-90, and professor of philosophy 1858-90, had died the twelfth of the preceding May.

real merit. Tested by this standard Seelye was a nobleman. In a Protestant country canonization is not the work of the church; it is the gift of God. Judged by the standards of the New Testament Seelye is now a saint. And we do not think he has lost his interest in the college, or ceases to bear its welfare to the throne of grace. In this sense he is our patron saint.

But it is not my purpose to pronounce an eulogy on President Seelye; that must be done by more eloquent lips than mine. In old colonial times, in the days of large families, it was the custom when the head of the household had died, and had been buried, for the family to all come together at some convenient time in order that they might hear the last will and testament, and become informed as to the estate which had been left to them. We, sons of Amherst, are assembled to-day as a family, and it seems not inappropriate for me to speak to you of *our* father's unwritten will and testament, and of the estate which he has left in our keeping. This estate belongs both to the college as an institution, and to ourselves as individuals. What he has left the college we all know—a treasure more precious than silver and gold—a good name. It is largely through his influence that you are proud to be called an Amherst man. In Europe and in America, Amherst students have made a record for themselves in the universities. Amherst men are at par in the college world and are eagerly sought for by many of our first institutions.

Just a word on the Amherst system. It is not a whole in itself, but a part of a larger system of instruction; it involves peculiar relationships between teacher and pupil which Seelye had tested for years in his classroom, before insisting upon their adoption by the col-

lege. "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." What that spirit was he has informed us in his unwritten testament to the college. These are his words: "Truth and Freedom; Truth coming from whatever direction, Freedom knowing no bounds but those that Truth has set."

A tree is to be judged by its fruits. But this does not mean the little green fruit which drops off early in the season, but, instead, that which matures at harvest. Ye are its fruits. When you note the type of manhood which Amherst has sent out under the influence of Seelye as professor and president; when you see what his students have done for the world, in the pulpit and press, in the school and at the bar, in politics and in business, and in every sphere of life, you cannot but feel that the Seelye idea of education which found its incarnation in the Amherst system, and which was at first criticised as a root out of dry ground, without form or comeliness — you cannot help feeling that in time it grew into a veritable tree of life, bearing twelve manner of fruits whose leaves were for the healing of the nations. The seal of the college is the sun and open Bible, and under it these words, *TERRAS IRRADIANT*. But the Scripture would state the case differently. Christ calls not the sun and the Bible, but Himself and His disciples, the light of the world. President Seelye felt that truth must be incarnated in order to save, and the Seelye idea of education was to make Amherst men the incarnation of truth, and thus the light and life of the world. It was his success in carrying out this idea which enabled him truthfully to answer a very personal question in his Question Box lecture concerning the policy of the college. The question was, "Why does Amherst select her own graduates

to fill the positions on her Faculty?" At that time there were many Amherst men prominent as teachers in the various institutions of America. Johns Hopkins had seven, whom President Gilman used to call his seven wise men. In Columbia College there were also seven on the Faculty, and there was hardly a prominent institution in the land where Amherst was not represented. Referring to this, Seelye replied, "Amherst chooses her own sons to fill the positions on the Faculty for the same reason that these other institutions choose Amherst men: *because they are the best.*"

Passing from the subject of President Seelye's legacy to the college, I speak of his legacy to his pupils as individuals. It is all expressed in those two words, truth and freedom, but what those words mean it is hard for an outsider to realize. Mr. Balfour emphasizes what he calls the psychological climate. As it is the physical climate of a country which determines whether the date and palm shall grow in a given place, or the Norway evergreen; as it is a particular variation of climate which decides whether the plants which are cultivated as exotics shall be dwarfed and stunted, or reach their most luxurious development; so it is the psychological climate of a man or an institution or a community which decides whether truth and freedom shall grow at all, or in their stead superficiality and dogmatism; or, if they grow, it is the variety of the psychological climate which determines what the development shall be. President Seelye's climate was that of an intellectual and spiritual California, where truth and freedom reached such a development as surpasses one's highest expectations.

When students passed from under his influence into

universities for graduate study, over and over again their experience was one of deep disappointment at first. They were like our first parents exiled from Paradise, and expressed themselves in those lines so often quoted by their revered instructor:—

And all fair sights shall mind you
Of diviner.
With sense of loss.

It was in this climate, in the presence of spiritual ideals in their largest development, towering above us as the great trees in the Yosemite Valley tower above the weary traveler, that President Seelye's pupils received their first acquaintance with philosophy and ethics and self-government.

As an instructor President Seelye's whole thought centered in the doctrine of the reason. His system of philosophy never seemed able to adapt itself to any other climate; again and again it has been transplanted only to die. There are two criticisms which have been made concerning it which I can hardly pass unnoticed; it is needless for me to say that these criticisms are made by those only who are familiar with the letter and not with the spirit. The first calls his doctrine of the reason "all moonshine." It seems to me the figure is not inappropriate, as it is the moon and the moon only which transforms our darkest nights into fairy splendor, not by shedding its own light, but by reflecting the unclouded splendor of the sun hidden from us by our earth. So when other class rooms were shrouded in the darkness of agnosticism, President Seelye's was lit up by

The light that never was, on sea or land.

reflected by him from the unclouded presence of the Eternal Reason, in whose light he constantly dwelt.

“God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God ” in the instruction of President Seelye.

The second criticism is aimed more especially at his textbook; it must be given exactly, for it is unique. The author is called “the deepest-down-divingest, the longest-under-stayingest, and the greatest up-mud-bringingest of all the writers in philosophy.”

Now, gentlemen, that which dives down deep, stays under long, and brings up mud is a sea dredge. It was President Seelye’s realization of the fearful danger of shipwreck on the terrible bar at the outer harbor of the port from which college men put to sea, that made him determine to dredge a channel so deep and wide as to give even to unskilled navigators a safe and sure passage to the open ocean of spiritual life. Of the hundreds who welcomed him on the golden shore on that Sabbath evening last May, there were many in that throng who had never met their “Pilot beyond the bar” had they not been saved from shipwreck at the beginning of their voyage by President Seelye’s dredge.

I will speak of but one other matter: it is the task which President Seelye has committed to our keeping; it was the matter which lay nearest his heart, which caused him more anxiety than all other subjects. Keen student of young men, he detected in our undergraduate life, made more attractive by the thousand influences unknown a few years ago, a strong tendency to swing off from the high ideal of scholarship and manly earnestness which has characterized so many of the heroes who have gone forth from this institution.

In one of his last addresses before the college, he surprised us by saying that in his judgment the temp-

tations to moral dissipation were not greater in college than a young man would find on entering business in a large city — perhaps not so great; that the great danger of college life, he was convinced, was dissipation of mental energy, superficiality on profound themes, loss of high ideals, loss of the power of concentrated and prolonged application.

I think it is conceded that one is so far justified in believing in natural law in the spiritual world as to affirm that what holds of gravitation holds of our moral life. As our physical weight depends upon the size of the planet on which we live, as a man who weighs one hundred and fifty pounds on the earth would weigh more than a ton if transported to a body as large as the sun, so it is with our mental weight. It depends upon the size of the world in which we consciously live. The man who takes a superficial view of the great problems of human life, and the great truths of religion, narrows himself as much as he does his world; he becomes frivolous, insincere, cynical, the prey to all sorts of temptations and moral degradation. For this there is no other remedy than a more profound apprehension of the truth. You can make him pharisaical by natural means, but you can make him religious only by the truth. "Father, sanctify them through thy truth," was the prayer of our beloved President. His first anxiety was concerning the student's seriousness, his desperate earnestness to secure the truth. Anything which interfered with this tendency was to him the most serious calamity to the college. He even quoted Coleridge's remark, "When one puts Christianity above the truth, he will soon put Church above Christianity, and himself above the Church." As Mary could say at the tomb of the

Christ, "Ye have taken away my Lord, and I know not where ye have laid him," and yet say it to that very Christ Himself because her expectations of finding the dead Christ in the tomb had blinded her eyes to the living Christ by her side, so would the students mistake the King of Glory for a gardener of mean degree, with whom they would easily be offended, if any other motive influenced them while in college other than the love of truth. Better by far "to have loved and lost than never to have loved at all," if it was only a love of truth.

In Beerbaum's recent address before the students of Harvard University, he stated that a scientific friend had informed him that the soft spot on the head of a new-born infant was the inherited relic of what in lower species had been a third eye, and used by them as a means of looking upward constantly. After mentioning species which still possess such an organ of vision, he drew the conclusion that man had lost the use of this organ because imagination was a third eye and served the purpose better. President Seelye would have said, not imagination, but *reason inspired by love of truth* is the only eye with which man can see the spiritual heavens above us; and as the physical third eye became extinct, so that its only relic is the soft spot in the infant, which soon hardens up, so there are thousands of young men who have so far lost this power of spiritual vision that there only remains during their college life a tender spot to show where it used to be, and even this disappears a little later.

It was President Seelye's great work to perform the miracle of opening this blind eye and enabling young men once more to see the things that are invisible; and the one indispensable condition, without which all

human efforts are unavailing, was the spirit of earnestness and willingness on the part of the students to submit to the necessary conditions. This is the great task which his withdrawal from the college has bequeathed to those who follow him.

XXVII

MARY LYON¹

SOME years ago President Dwight, in an article entitled "How I Was Educated," said, "The first requisite for a good education is the right selection of your father and mother." Nothing can ever make up for the lack of the necessary mental qualities gained only by heredity. The same rule holds for an institution as for the individual. Mount Holyoke College was most happy in the choice of its parents. Mary Lyon was its mother and Divine Providence its father. Nothing could ever have taken the place of the spirit which the institution has inherited thus. It is the case of the Virgin Mary over again, but with this difference: Judea witnessed Christ's first coming when He took upon Him the form of a servant and became obedient unto death. South Hadley witnessed one of Christ's second comings when He incarnated Himself in the form, not of a man, but of a Christian institution, born not to die, but to live from age to age.

I do not desire to dwell upon the incidents of a life known so well to this community. Such an occasion as the present may, however, be an inspiration if it can put us in possession of her spirit as Elisha received a double portion of the spirit of Elijah. The spirit of Mary Lyon and the spirit of the institution is one not easily understood by strangers. There is something paradoxical

¹ An address given Sunday evening, February 23, 1897, at the First Church in Amherst.

in it which enables one to give more than he has. You who know it will recognize it as having the peculiar mystery of life as opposed to mechanism. Matter acts only as it is acted upon. A machine will yield not one whit more energy than you put into it — always a trifle less. But life has the power of self-multiplication. Put an acorn into the ground and it starts from the very feeblest beginnings, but multiplies its powers until it becomes an oak, producing each year hundreds of acorns, each as richly endowed as its parent. Put a gold dollar in the ground and it simply stays there until you dig it up; it has no power of multiplication; you will not thus become a millionaire.

Mary Lyon had little to begin with, and she easily might have excused herself for doing nothing. She was only a woman in the days before the "new woman" had been evolved. Social institutions had fixed for her a very definite limitation; what could she hope to do? Mount Holyoke College is the answer. How many there are in our communities, much more privileged than she, who feel entirely exempt from any special service simply because it is not, as they think, in their power. Now to all of us Mount Holyoke is an object lesson in the power of life. It teaches that you must not estimate your energies in terms of the actual, but of the potential; not the resources you have at the beginning, but what you may gain as you progress, measures your duty. You are not a machine, but a person, therefore you can give. You can give a thousand times what you now have. There is latent life energy all through our churches. Mary Lyon differed from others simply in that she did what she could, and her institution has followed her example until it has grown beyond her fondest dream; not merely that, but it has

reproduced itself in our own land and other lands, so that it has been compared to a banyan tree stretching out its branches until they touch the earth and, taking root, become themselves in turn great trees, yet always drawing inspiration from their parent.

The Apostolic Fathers used to call the Book of Acts in the New Testament the fifth Gospel, the Gospel of the Holy Ghost, for it taught men what they could do by divine help. It seems to me that Mount Holyoke is an appendix to the fifth Gospel which our Heavenly Father has permitted us to have in our midst in order that we may be persuaded that we still live in the dispensation of the Spirit.

There is another point upon which I wish to touch, and that is the kind of work which Mary Lyon has been doing. The higher education of women is so familiar to us that we cannot realize what an innovation Mount Holyoke's mission was in Mary Lyon's day. We are not conscious of our debt to her. I can best express this by an illustration drawn from the recent change in the method of mining gold. The great flood of gold which is now being poured out every year, surpassing anything in the world's history, is due to a new process by which it becomes possible to work deposits that only a few years ago were passed by because they could not by the old method be made valuable. By the cyanide process, as it is called, large tracts of country containing only a few grains of gold to a ton of earth in South Africa and Australia and America are made to yield an annual output that surpasses the days of bonanza mining.

The system of Christian education at Mount Holyoke is the cyanide process by which the pure gold of womanhood has been extracted, not merely from the

families of the well-to-do, but from the humble homes even in the small towns and sparsely settled country places where before no opportunities were able to reach these young lives buried in the trivial duties of their daily tasks. All this vast amount has been added to the treasure of our century — such an amount of noble self-sacrifice and devotion as would be hard to parallel in any age of the world. Mary Lyon was the inventor of this process; other institutions have adopted it with some modifications not always improvements; and still there are large numbers who are not yet reached; the gold in sight is enough to justify the existence of many more such institutions. Just now you are invited to become a stockholder at par in the enlargement of the original plant, and we can guarantee you that nowhere will you find such dividends from a small investment.

XXVIII

THE CHANGES OF TWENTY YEARS; TO THE CLASS OF 1883 AT THEIR TWENTIETH ANNI- VERSARY

Two events have occurred on our campus that typify the changes in college life during the last twenty years. Soon after you graduated, East College dormitory was removed. The motive for this sacrifice was to give the church a fair show. This was the spirit that had dominated for generations. Religion was the one matter of prime importance in education; everything must be subordinate to that.

The other event is the recent incorporation of the Boltwood estate, thus giving Walker Hall its true setting. This building, with its tower of many spires, no two of which point in the same direction, stands for the secular instruction and interests of the institution. This is the spirit of the new century. Education is secularized, almost radically so.

The great change has been brought about mainly by three agencies. First in importance was the rapid spread of Darwinism; second, came the rise of higher criticism; the third is the dazzling influence of commercialism.

When you were in college, Darwinism and higher criticism were in supreme conflict with traditional views that had dominated for generations the religious world. The Catholics founded on an infallible church, Protestants on an infallible book. Both of

these positions were assailed by the new theories. When you were in college the conflict of these agencies with traditional views and customs was at its maximum. There was an interest then in great questions which students to-day are entirely unable to comprehend. What to you was a vital issue is to them merely mythology. You lived in the storm and stress period. Never since history was written has there been sharper intellectual lightning than the keen wit of Tyndall and Huxley, or heavier thunder than the sonorous phrases of Spencer and Haeckel. But that storm is passed, the intellectual atmosphere has been cleared of dogmas; such a writer as John Fiske is the rainbow after the shower.

There has not yet been time to clear up all the débris. Some of the old shade trees were torn up by the roots — for instance, the Andover creed. In other places the wires are still down so that the older generation are not in touch with the newer life of our institutions. But the trend of things is now clear. Looking back to the days before higher criticism and Darwinism, we find that life was lived in an old man's world. It was no accident that the classics were so prominent. Tradition ruled the day. Everywhere was the power of the dead hand. Now we live in a young man's world. Everywhere we are inspired by hope and thrilled by achievement. Then the golden age was in the past, now it is the present. Many of our old men are younger to-day than they were fifty years ago.

Before I speak further of present tendencies, I desire to pay my tribute to the work that has been done and to the time that has passed.

We know that in agriculture great results are se-

cured by new methods of cultivation, but nothing can quite make up for the subtle influences peculiar to certain localities. Now classics and religion constitute a California climate, as it were, in our colleges. It was an atmosphere peculiarly favorable for the development of manhood. Such men as Seelye, and Tyler, and Beecher, and Storrs never could have been produced under any other conditions. Those influences made Amherst an educational Yosemite, famous throughout the church for the men it grew. I remind you that, grand as is the present time, the men who have had most to do with bringing this progress about were not developed under the new training, but under the old. I congratulate you that the uplift of those days is still fresh in your recollection. If the children shall, in their time, do work worthy to be compared with their fathers, they will find it no easy task. No doubt there was much to condemn in the old college, but may it not be with college as it is with ocean travel? I sometimes feel the analogy keenly.¹

Yet as we look back on that period we now discover in those methods an Old Testament character. The great men of those days were prophets, indeed, but they revealed and administered the law rather than the gospel. They wrought, not by love, but by fear. Take for instance their observance of the Sabbath. Amherst was the place, no doubt, Beecher had in mind when in his *Norwood* he described the New England reverence for the day as so profound that a sacred awe and calm settled down, not merely on the whole community, but even on the animal world and on Nature herself. Horses and cattle knew when the

¹ The reference is to a passage from Fitzjames Stephen, quoted by James in *Talks to Teachers*, pp. 299 f.

day dawned. Even the roosters crowed psalm tunes, and the crows in their suits of black played pulpit among the pines.

When I turn in thought from that time to the present, I seem to be in some other world far from earth. This age hardly knows what moral law means. In every class, students are dumb with wonder when I come to the doctrine of state sovereignty; never had it entered their minds that there was any other point of view for estimating conduct than expediency. The end justifies the means; of course it does. They no more conceive civil government as a great moral institution than they do a circus. It is merely a means to an end, a contrivance for protecting business enterprise and holding in check the lower classes. The shrewd thing is to evade statute laws when they inconvenience yourself. Commercialism is the atmosphere they breathed in the cradle, and they have lived in that climate ever since.

The whole trend of public thought is practical. It is extremely hard to interest an audience in theory, no matter how logical or how well supported by evidence, and, I may add, no matter how important. You see this in the church, where creeds and doctrines are dropped out of sight, and life is the all-absorbing theme. You find it in education.

Bishop Potter quotes a criticism from the Germans, who say, "You Americans care for learning only if you can coin it; for knowledge, only as you can hitch it to a machine and make it push or pull, roll or weave, or build out of primitive elements a ship or a factory. You cannot even understand, much less appreciate, the fine enthusiasm for learning for its own sake."

You find the tendency in business and politics, where

too often there seems to be recognized no virtue but success, no crime but failure, and no commandment save "Thou shalt not get found out."

It has been a peculiar feature of Amherst from the beginning that she has been awake to the public needs at each period of her existence. When the church dominated the thought and spirit of New England and young men could render the largest service in the pulpit and school, then Amherst men forged to the front as preachers, teachers, and missionaries. The college bent every energy to send out that type of manhood. Later, law and medicine and journalism magnified their opportunities and called to the best men, "Come over to Macedonia and help us." Then Amherst alumni were not deaf to the call. For some years past, not merely at the theological seminaries, but at our best law schools and schools of medicine, Amherst graduates have been eagerly welcomed. The Amherst colony there has been a group containing a few marked men. They have left behind traditions that have been an honor to Alma Mater.

Now a new age is before us. Business is asking for men of ability and integrity to take positions of great responsibility, and the same is true of municipal affairs and of politics. In short, citizenship is the great need of the present time, and our students have already begun to turn their faces towards these positions. This new work demands new training. We are trying to put this new wine into new bottles. It would be a long story to tell you all the college is doing to meet this new need. But I thought you might be interested in the work of my department and the new lines along which we are developing.

Now, just at this time public thought is made serious

by problems forced on our attention by the trusts, and more especially by labor troubles. Labor unions are becoming intoxicated with success. They are often controlled, not by the wisest and best workmen, but by the less intelligent, who will always be in the majority and who are swayed by radical agitators. This age has been astounded by the power of organization. Many on the labor side feel like a boy with a new jackknife — they want to test their new tool. They long for an opportunity to cut something, — sooner or later they will. The hopeless view of the situation taken by many employers is illustrated by this: A few days ago two recent cabinet officers expressed their disapproval of the way President Roosevelt settled the coal strike, by saying that if a man like Cleveland had been in office there would have been bloodshed in the coal region and plenty of it, too — and that was the only way to have reached any final solution of the difficulty. Some of our most conservative students feel that we have not yet seen the worst.

And surely we have not, if the problem can only be settled by force. But is there not a more excellent way? Cannot there be started a campaign of education? Cannot the public be aroused to realize its responsibility as a party to the fight? Why allow labor and capital to settle their differences by war any more than we should allow a feud to be fought out between two families? The public is umpire and fully competent to interpose a commission or a court to pass on the merits of the controversy.

So far as I can see there is only one difficulty in securing this result, *viz.*, the public have no settled ideas as to what justice is in this matter. Their counsels are hopelessly divided. They have discarded theory too

much and now are without chart or compass. To whom can they turn if not to our colleges and universities? Why is not the present an opportunity for educated men to create public opinion as did Beecher, and Lowell, and Phillips in the days of the Civil War?

Again, why not invade the rank of labor unions with organized efforts and instructions? Once let the honest men in these unions comprehend the true principles that determine human relationship and they would resist the tyranny and aggression of the radical element. Nothing can be done if you wait till the crisis comes, but begin long enough before and we may yet avert serious results. See what is being done at Cooper Union. See the size of the audience of workmen and their deep earnestness. This movement was started, I think, by an Amherst man. Suppose there was such an organization in every city and large town, suppose college settlements made such instruction a part of their work, would it not be as leaven hid in three measures of meal till the whole was leavened?

I am trying to do my part towards arousing in the students a sense of their opportunity and responsibility in this matter. I have great faith in the power of the simple truth. I also have faith enough in our laboring classes to believe that, like the multitudes in Judea in the days of Christ, they will hear the truth gladly from the lips of Amherst men.

If it would not tire you, I should like to outline our treatment of the ethics of commercialism. At first sight it would seem that a discussion of the ethics of commercialism would be very brief — as brief as the famous chapter on snakes in Ireland. Many seem to believe that there are no ethics of commercialism, that a man too honest cannot succeed in business.

But the case is not quite so bad. I can illustrate my meaning by adding a sequel to President Lincoln's story of the deacon who went up to the bar of a saloon and called for a glass of plain soda with a little whiskey in it "unbeknownst" to him. It seems that when the drink was served and he had tasted it with eager anticipations, great was his disappointment, for there was no flavor of any kind of spirit in it. The bartender replied to his reproaches, "Since you asked for it 'unbeknownst,' I put the whiskey in the bottom of the glass and covered it over with the soda on top. Go on with your drinking; you will come to it by and by." There is a spiritual element in commercialism, but it is not on top: neither is this strange. If you notice, all the beneficent institutions of humanity when they first appeared on earth were disguised by what is now most repulsive to us. Religion in its earlier forms was a cruel superstition, offering human sacrifices. Government was a despotism such as you can at present hardly realize. Civilization itself took its first steps in progress in the form of war and slavery. Chemistry was alchemy, astronomy was astrology. Even so beneficent a science as medicine was disguised as magic. We ought not to be surprised, therefore, if under the objectionable forms of our modern commercialism there should be found an inner secret power of the purest, noblest uplift that humanity has ever experienced.

Looking back to the early days of railroad travel, we see one long list of frightful disasters. It was easy for the croakers in those days to decry the new invention, but these evils were no part of the new system, but were rather due to the abuse of that system. As we come to understand it better and perfect it, we find it

a marvel of convenience and safety. May it not be that the abuses of commercialism will in a similar way be corrected, and what so many have lamented may turn out to be the brightest angel that has ever gladdened human vision?

This much is certain: commercialism is here; it is a rising tide which has not yet reached its flood. Our colleges are submerged by it already. We cannot withstand it; we must embark upon it. It may be a shorter route to the port of the spiritual life than the old road of dogma that our fathers used to trudge along on, on foot.

My proposition is that the present criticism of commercialism is only another form of the question that Nathanael asked Philip, "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" I reply like him, "Come and see." Let me outline briefly my method of attempting to show to our students what seems to me is the true nature of this great institution.

[The manuscript of this address was incomplete, but the general line of thought indicated for the discussion of the ethics of commercialism is found in the paper on "The Coming Reform," No. XX above.]

XXIX

OFF TO THE FRONT: TO THE CLASS OF 1898 AT THEIR LAST CHAPEL

As you go out from us, be assured that our best wishes go with you, and that from our hearts we bid you Godspeed. Four years ago you came to us, and for four long years we have given you our best thought and our best endeavor. Our personal interest in you is only strengthened with your growth in manliness and in power. Your departure from us to-day is an event of not less importance to us than the departure of the cadets at West Point a few weeks ago for the scene of war. You are taking the first step which will involve real service in the actual warfare of life. We do not know where you will be stationed or to what post you will be ordered to report, but the traditions of the college are, "Amherst men to the front." Wherever there is duty to be done or a danger to be undergone, that is the post for an Amherst man. Napoleon's soldiers always marched in the direction of the heaviest firing, and Amherst men do the same.

We shall follow you with deep personal interest; we shall watch your professional course with that same keen attention with which the nation watched the voyage of the *Oregon* from the Pacific, and if long periods of time pass without our catching sight of you or hearing from you, we shall wait for news as eagerly as the government waited for the report of Captain Clark at Rio and Bahia. When you come back to college to

your alumni reunions we will welcome you as enthusiastically as the *Oregon* was received when she sailed into the harbor at Key West, and all the fleet dipped their flags and sounded their whistles and the fort thundered with its guns.

The responsibilities and dangers of your life will be as great as though you actually entered the army, for peace has its conquests in man's sacrifices as truly as war; indeed, life is a battle, and our present war with Spain is only part of the conflict that we are waging. The real genius of Spanish misrule is the corruption of her officials. When Governor-General Weyler, after a short reign in the Philippines, deposited to his credit four million dollars in the bank, we can understand why the harbor defenses were rotten and the inhabitants driven to insurrection. In Cuba we are really fighting the spoils system in politics, and wherever this prevails there is really Spanish rule. Look at our own municipal politics and then tell me whether the war with Spain can be limited to Cuba. Must you not have part and lot in this great conflict if you are to be a true Amherst man? What Amherst men have done, Amherst men can do and will do.

At the risk of saying things that are trite, I beg you to allow me to draw some lessons from our present conflict that may apply to your future.

We are reminded by the course of events that the illustrious Mars is no longer god of war. Such a victory as Manila shows that it is not pride or boasting or enthusiasm or even heroism—yes, I will add not even genius—that determines the fate of the battle, but scientific skill that is the result of long, careful practice and discipline. You can buy the gun, but you cannot buy the man behind the gun; he must

grow through training. Application of this to your professional career is too obvious to need emphasis.

Secondly. This war has made very vivid to the lay mind the helplessness of the most powerful fleet when its fuel is exhausted. Is the analogy too far fetched to suggest that the motor power of a student should be the object of his supreme concern? But is it not true that this is just the one thing most generally neglected, as Spain has neglected the coal supply for her fleet? Students think of intellect and forms and leave out of account will power; but just as the most powerful engine is helpless without fuel, so the most brilliantly equipped mind is weakness itself without a strong will. But will is not an accident; it depends on inspiration, and inspiration is impossible without motive.

All history teaches that the deepest, truest, most efficient motives come only from ethical and religious convictions. Selfishness can do a great deal for a short time, just as shavings can when under a boiler, but no long ocean voyage can ever be completed with shavings. The only fuel suited to that purpose owes its existence to mighty forces working through ends of time in the geological history of our globe. Except as you make use of the product of these forces, our navy is helpless. History teaches us that such men as Paul and Luther, Washington, Lincoln, and Gladstone, owe their motives to a deep sense of their dependence on and responsibility to a power not themselves. This is what we mean by faith, and the eleventh chapter of Hebrews gives a long record of marvelous results secured by men of great faith. It is our strongest wish that your lives may furnish a long postscript to the eleventh chapter of Hebrews.

Thirdly. The progress of methods of warfare is instructive. Beginning with the earliest savage days when, by paint and adornment of feathers, the chief made himself as conspicuous as possible, though his weapons were weak, down to the present time, the changes have all been in one direction. We now find by the aid of smokeless powder, the absence of all lights at night, and, last of all, submarine boats, that we have done very much to make the warrior invisible, and at the same time we have increased the potency of his weapons.

In the battle of life learn this lesson. Get self out of sight; sink the personal equation; burn your own smoke; never allow egotism to cloud your view and obscure your aim and give your enemy odds against you; and, on the other hand, do not fail to fully appreciate the tremendous force of those weapons which a modern scholarship places in your hands. Projectiles of our rifle guns can be withstood by shore fortifications. We have sometimes been a little disappointed in this war because so little has been done by bombardments. But it is all different in the world of scholarship. What mental masonry, what intellectual armor, can withstand the penetrating power of truth? As X-rays pass readily through opaque substances, as the waves of electricity used in wireless telegraphy are not hindered by even mountain walls, so evidence will penetrate all sophistry and all pretenses. Christ's life teaches us that, whatever the enemy may do to us individually, they can never do anything against the truth. Make your life unselfish; work for some great cause that is true and noble, and you will be invincible and your work immortal.

When you get through your professional school the

twentieth century will be just begun. If progress is as rapid during the next fifty years as it has been in the last, can you imagine what opportunities will be before you? Can you realize the grandeur of living in such an age? Many of you will have fifty years of active life after you leave college. Can you form any conception of what that may mean?

See how rapidly events are moving. A little while ago our attention was held on South Africa. We then forgot Jameson's raid in our indignation over Armenia. But in a little while our sympathies were stirred with Crete, and then with Greece. After that came the war in northern India, and then the excitement over the partition of China, until the blowing up of the *Maine* directed the thought of the world towards Cuba, and, just as we were all absorbed there, we quite forgot Cuba as we rejoiced over the victory at Manila and found ourselves truly unprepared for the responsibility which it threw upon us. See how swiftly events are moving. Can you tell what will happen next at this rate of progress? If the movement is only in the right direction, may it not be that before your lives come to a close you will be permitted to see the morning twilight of the millennium? Has not the day star already appeared, and is not this spirit of altruism in fighting for the rights of oppressed people the spirit which the European governments find so hard to understand? Is not that the beginning of a high standard of national ethics, and will it not lead to a higher ideal of our international relationships and our duties to our country?

Is it not possible that what is true of the world as a whole may be true of the individual, and that the course of events may thrust upon you great opportu-

nities? Can you neglect any preparation for these responsibilities? Can you feel sure that you are so far from the centres of progress that you may not be forced to be the leader in some great movement? At the beginning of the war with Spain, Dewey seemed to be farthest away from that conflict, the one most unlikely to have a hand in the fight; yet he was the first to strike, and his victory did more than any other to give the foreign nations a correct estimation of the qualities of the American navy. Suppose he had not been prepared by a training for this responsible post?

Is it a small thing to be privileged to live in such an age as this? Is it a small thing to begin the twentieth century in the full strength and vigor of a young manhood, with a well-disciplined mind and with the high ideals of a Christian college held out before you?

Is it a small thing to be permitted to work to hasten the era of universal peace,

When man to man united
And every wrong thing righted;
The whole world shall be lighted
As Eden was of old.

This, then, is your mission, to live

For the cause that needs assistance;
For the wrong that needs resistance;
For the future in the distance,
And the good that you can do.

God speed you on such a glorious mission as this!

XXX

THE MOUNT OF TEMPTATION: TO THE CLASS OF 1903 AT THEIR LAST CHAPEL

I HAVE been asked to say a few words on this occasion. I extend to you, in behalf of the faculty and college, congratulations on the completion of your course of study at this institution. To-day you meet in this chapel for the last time as undergraduates. In a few moments these duties will be to you only a memory. You are face to face with the responsibilities and opportunities of a larger life. We bid you our hearty "Godspeed" as you go out from us.

This event and those we are to celebrate this coming Commencement are epoch-making in your life. We rejoice in all that this means to you. But we, who remain behind, cannot sunder this relationship without consciousness of a personal loss. Years of intimate friendship with you in the class room and at our homes have knit our hearts to yours. We have ceased to think of you as a class or as pupils. We call you friends, fellow-students, who have considered with us the great problems of life and destiny. You have won our confidence and affection. You have inspired us with pride in your achievements, with hope for your future; you take with you our blessing. We shall follow you individually in your various careers. We shall rejoice in your success, we shall be honored in your honor. However great you become, it will always be said, "Amherst made you so."

Neither can you forget Alma Mater, — wherever you go, you will share in her renown, her prosperity will be your pride, your fame will add new lustre to her name. You can never cease to be known, and be proud to be known, as Amherst men.

Recently the papers were filled with an account of the launching of a steamship at New London. It was an event that attracted the attention of two continents. Shall the completion of a piece of mechanism be deemed worthy of so much pride and comment, and shall the launching of a class of young men on the sea of active life be passed over with only a brief ceremony? Let us pause and consider the deeper significance.

There is an event in the life of Christ which seems to me to express the deepest experiences of unfolding young manhood and peculiarly to fit the present occasion. I refer to the second of His temptations in the wilderness. Let me outline it and give its setting.

Accepting the doctrine of His divinity and incarnation, we incline to the view of those who affirm that, up to the time of His baptism, He had no consciousness of His own true nature or of His particular life work. Scripture tells us that a great change occurred in Him on that occasion. It marked the beginning of a new life. The heavens were opened, the spirit descended upon Him in the form of a dove — such were the visible manifestations. But, subjectively, it was a moment of self-realization; the dawning of the deepest consciousness of His real being and of His divine power.

College life has been to you, at least to some of you, a true baptism. You are not what you were when you came among us. We have watched you as acquaint-

ance with your deeper, truer self has dawned upon you. With this experience has come the realization of reserve powers, of capacities that have only begun to be exerted.

You who have passed through the anxiety of settling the question of what shall be your life work, that is, what shall be done with your powers, what is worthy of your deeper selves, can comprehend in some faint degree what Christ was thinking and planning during the forty days in the wilderness that followed His baptism, when he became so absorbed that He forgot to eat.

Christ lived at a critical moment in Jewish history. The nation was eagerly expecting a temporal Messiah, one who should raise a revolt against the Romans, defeat their armies, overthrow their society, already corrupt and beginning to decay, and establish the throne of David at Jerusalem. Jerusalem, not Rome, was to be the capital of the world. To such a leader the nation would be intensely loyal. Christ's temptation consisted in this: He suddenly realized what was surely within his reach. The time was ripe, everything promised success. On that lonely mountain top a vision came to him. The prize was a tempting one. Why should he not grasp it and add to history the name of a sovereign greater than Alexander or Cæsar? But stop a moment. How only could this be won? Ah! there was no doubt about the answer; he knew human nature too well to hesitate here. All change in temporal power in those days came through war and violence. Might alone could wrest the right to rule from Rome. And power once won could be held only by slaying one's enemies and dividing the spoils with one's friends.

And so, on this mountain top, a scene is acted. Christ was tempted to become a Judean Faust; the psychological moment of Jewish history became a Mephistopheles, offering him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them if only he would surrender his soul to Satan.

Because a college course is a baptism, a revelation to a student of his latent powers, his deeper, manly self, college becomes a mount of temptation. He is compelled to choose, to invest his energies in some end of life. Every man has visions of a possible future, every student hopes to make life a success. He cannot overlook the question of what methods shall dominate him in his struggle for the world's prizes. In a commercial age, he sees that in business and politics many have found a short cut to wealth and position. Over and over again we hear it said, "A man who is too honest, too conscientious, cannot succeed in the awful struggle." Is not this a case where the end justifies the means? All things are fair in war. Why not swerve from the path of rectitude when such tremendous stakes are up? Let me urge you to remember that Christ was tempted in all points like as we are, therefore ponder his victory. When he asked his disciples, "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul," was he not stating the conclusion he reached in his own struggle with Satan in the wilderness? If you can decide as he did, you will go forth from college in the spirit and the power of the Master. You will speak and act in life, not as the Scribes and Pharisees, but as one having authority. If you can command yourself, you can rule others, and the people will obey you gladly.

Our age needs men of this stamp. Our cities are

just awaking to a consciousness of the magnitude of municipal corruption and are beginning to resist it. College men have done some splendid service already. Will you help?

The fires of conflict between labor and capital are burning fiercely. The public are beginning to lose faith in the possibility of subduing the flames by pouring on the waters of concession with the bottomless buckets of expediency. Our corporations are getting such a power in the lobbies of legislatures and Congress that the stoutest hearts lose courage; many of our papers sneer at any control of trusts by legislation, and advocate a socialistic revolution as the final outcome.

What is to be our public policy in all these directions? To whom shall the people turn for guidance if not to educated young men, to you and your generation? But what kind of a Messiah shall they find in you? Will you help make self-preference the order of the day? Shall life be to you a grab game? Shall honesty and integrity be made the corner-stone of your lives and, through you, of the public policy? Will you aid in lifting up your age to this ideal? In short, will you be a Faust or a Christ? God give us

Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honor — men who will not lie.
Men who can stand before a demagogue
And down his treacherous flatteries without winking.
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog,
In public duty and in private thinking.

Shall these characteristics be the trade-mark of Amherst on her young alumni?

I believe the fullness of time has come; the age is

ready for this type of leadership, ready for a Neo-Christianity. The fact that the politicians would gladly throw overboard President Roosevelt, yet frankly concede the probability of his re-nomination, is a recognition of the rising tide of loyalty of the public to sincerity and integrity.

Look at Amherst's past, and then say what you will help make her future. In the past Amherst has served the world conspicuously through the men whom she has sent into the professions. But a new age is dawning. New needs are created by progress. To-day, the business world, municipal affairs and politics, in short, citizenship, are making great demands. Will you respond? Will you make Amherst's name as famous here as in the professions? Students from earlier classes have already led the way. Will you go and help? The opportunities are larger than ever before. Our golden age is not far back, but in the future, right before us. The Kingdom of God is at the door, — will you bring it in? Will you make this young man's world a college young man's world? Will you see to it that candor and education and integrity displace partisanship and passion and corruption?

I beg you not to shrink. Say not: The work is so great, and we so inexperienced, what can we hope to accomplish against such odds? It is not you who are to do it, but the power not yourselves that makes for righteousness, if only you will let it work through you.

In yonder cabinet are stone slabs carefully preserved. Why thus honored? They have been photographed and described in learned scientific books written in many languages. Why so much attention to them? Simply because ages ago humble forms of

animal life, merely by performing their normal functions, and obeying the laws of their being, became the finger of God, with which He wrote on tables of stone — as he wrote the Ten Commandments on Sinai — a chapter in the geological history of the earth, and so revealed Himself and His methods of creation to his children to-day.

Shall God so honor these animal agencies, and will He pass unnoticed and unblessed the honest efforts of young manhood, however humble, to serve both God and humanity? No, a thousand times no. Take courage.

XXXI

A MOUNTAIN DAY IN THE SPIRITUAL LIFE¹

A FEW years ago, the day following Mountain Day, a Freshman went to the Dean's office in great perturbation of mind, and attempted to get excused for remaining in his room, not having availed himself of the privileges of the previous day. This freshness leaked out and caused no little merriment about college. And yet I have noticed, year after year since, that both faculty and students with considerable curiosity demand unofficially an explanation if, perchance, they learn that one of their friends has failed to lay aside his work and go out into the fields and on the hills into the beautiful yellow light of a perfect October mountain day. *This* day has been set apart by the college as a mountain day in the spiritual sense of the word. Faculty and students are invited to come to "the hills from whence cometh their strength." And I cannot help thinking that, among the friends of the college, a great many, especially those who are now numbered with the great white throng, would, if they could, demand of us an unofficial explanation if we fail to avail ourselves of the privileges of this day. There is the record in the Scriptures of a spiritual mountain day. It was when Christ and His three disciples, Peter, James, and John, went up into the

¹ A talk on the Day of Prayer for Colleges, January, 1894. "Mountain Day" at Amherst College is a holiday granted in the month of October, when the autumn foliage is in its glory, for the purpose of mountain climbing.

Mount of Transfiguration; and the memory of that occasion, long years after, made the burdens of life lighter and gave strength to the faith of the Apostles when the great power of the Roman Empire began to be arrayed against the struggling Church. Such has been the memory of some of these days of prayer for colleges to many of the Amherst alumni, and we feign would make it such to you. We think that it ought to be something more, namely, what the transfiguration was to Christ Himself, an experience strengthening Him for His great sacrifice. What a crisis in Peter's life! If he had at the time realized all that it meant, he would have been spared the bitter tears and the reproving look of his Master when the cock crew on the night of the crucifixion; he would have been spared those anxious, weary hours at the sepulchre on the morning after the resurrection; he would never have had to recall the sadness of Christ's reproach in the garden of Gethsemane: "Could ye not watch with me one hour?" and when it came to his death he would not have begged for the privilege of being crucified with his head downwards because of his unworthiness to die as his Master died; for then Moses and Elias, the law and the prophets, would have strengthened him for the hour of his sacrifice as they did his Master.

We are reminded from time to time of the peculiar temptations of college life, of the weakness of human nature under fire, and it is clear that we all need strength which we do not possess. If past experience teaches us anything, it is that temptations are so subtle, life so complex, that our only safety is in drawing spiritual strength in advance against the day of need. Some of the events of the present college year have

caused us much thought and made us feel that a revival of religion in Amherst must be a revival in righteousness, that not every one that saith "Lord, Lord," but he that doeth the will of the Father is accepted of Him. Let us seek earnestly for this result, and this occasion will mark a new era in college life. There is no reason why the standards of honor and truthfulness should not be as safe in the hands of college students as they are in the church at large, and yet attention is continually called to the fact that some of those who are active in religious services are not standard-bearers in examinations and on football excursions and other occasions.

We are not different from those who have gone before. Every one of the prophets of the Old Testament and all the apostles were men like ourselves with the single exception that they had fewer advantages than we have. Nearly every one of them, in recalling his past life, found scenes upon which he could look only with tears; but there came a time when they differed from us; to them the power of the Lord was revealed. How did they become different? There is no secret about it. The life of every one of them was exactly the type of that poor woman who for twelve years had spent all her living on physicians. She pushed her way through the crowd and touched the hem of Christ's garment; the crowd stopped moving; there was great commotion and the Master began to look about among the crowd which thronged and jostled Him, searching for the one that touched Him, and His eyes fell upon the poor woman, no longer diseased, but the picture of health and beauty.

The world jostles the church, and our room is full

this morning; but the prophet and apostle is that humble individual in our midst who touches the hem of His garment and receives virtue from Him, and his moral illness and disease is removed. And what is the garment which He wears in our midst? All through the Old Testament, all through the Oriental countries, the garment is the symbol of the kind of work a man is doing, just as the soldier's garment shows his rank and employment. When Elisha took up the mantle of Elijah, he took up his work. The mission of Elijah and a double portion of his spirit rested upon him. When the woman touched the hem of Christ's garment, she apprehended the true mission of Christ as the crowd did not, and she was made whole. When the disciples went to Jerusalem and were of one accord in that upper room, they had at last apprehended Christ's mission and were ready to take up His work. It was on that day that Peter preached the cross of Christ. If any of us in seeking, not a temporal kingdom, but spiritual power, if any of us wants to be added to the long list of prophets and apostles, there is but one way it can be accomplished. We must take up their work, and the Holy Spirit which rested upon them will rest upon us also. When Elijah was waiting with impatience for the Divine Presence in the wilderness, he found that God was not clothed in the whirlwind or in the earthquake, but that He was in the still small voice of duty. It is not, gentlemen, in the period of great excitement, of strong emotional earthquakes, that we find God; he who can divine what his duty is, and who can do it this day and all the days of the term, has his finger constantly on the hem of Christ's garment, and upon him shall the Holy Spirit be poured out in large measure. What the

electric wire from the dynamo is to the arc light or the electric car, duty is to the one who is seeking God's presence. Connect with duty, and the light shall shine in your lives, the power shall course through your limbs and tongue which shall make you like Peter on the day of Pentecost.

XXXII

RESPONSE ON THE OCCASION OF THE PRESENTATION OF THE COMMEMORATIVE VOLUME, JUNE, 1906¹

I AM deeply touched by these expressions of personal interest in me, and I thank you for them with all my heart. Nothing could have been a greater surprise than this plan. I confess that I had been very sensitive about my twenty-fifth year of service in these days, when the only crime that can never be forgiven or forgotten or expiated is that of growing old. Any reference to my long connection with the college has excited apprehensions like those which corporations are supposed to experience when investigations are ordered. Indeed, my anxiety was more intense, for a college professor has what corporations do not have, a soul; and then in the educational world there is no such device as an immunity bath. Furthermore, the penalty for growing old is not what corporations incur for their sins, namely, a fine with the privilege of going on just as before, but the awful fate of being either Oslerized or Carnegied. But, notwithstanding my extreme sensitiveness, when I learned of the preparation of this splendid volume I was willing for such a prize to undergo, if need be, both of these fates. But to-day, as I experience these personal expressions of interest, the occasion takes on a new significance; it no longer seems like a sentence of doom, but rather as

¹ The address of presentation will be found in the Appendix.

an order from the Superior Court for a new trial. It is in that spirit and in that hope that I shall take up my work with the coming classes. I shall endeavor to prove that the spiritual life need not grow old; though the outer man age, the inner man is renewed from day to day.

These Commencement seasons are a great inspiration. When we realize how little influence the years have had on alumni who went out from us long ago, we wonder whether the explanation is not to be found in these anniversary occasions; whether this loyalty to Alma Mater, this college spirit infused into one's blood every five years, is not, in reality, an antitoxin against old age. I shall try to prove that in my case this theory is true.

I am deeply touched by these expressions of personal interest. I thank you with all my heart for this great honor. I can reconcile myself to such distinction only on the ground that President Seelye was quite right when he said that the reception accorded to a humble man by others is determined, not by his merit, but by the largeness of their hearts and the genuineness of their manhood. You have given me a royal recognition because, as sons of Alma Mater, you are of royal birth. You wear the purple and white by the divine right of inheritance as well as of merit.

I should not be true to this occasion if I did not give due credit to the fortunate circumstances under which I have worked. In the first place, I desire to acknowledge my infinite indebtedness to my wife; how much she has helped me, you can never know. I thank you with all my heart for this special tribute to her.

Speaking next of those things which most concern a

teacher's institutional work, I desire to express my thanks to the present administration for that tact and efficiency in so dealing with the difficult problems of student life and organization that our work in the class room has been undisturbed by friction. It is sometimes said that at Amherst things run themselves; but those who know affirm that this is because the highest administrative art is to conceal art. We have the same problems here as in other institutions, but there is a skill in the hand at the helm, a personal power of getting things done smoothly, that is as rare in educational circles as are the peculiar properties of radium in the chemical world. At Amherst there emanates from the executive, and from his better half, what we may call a moral and social "radio-activity," working silently but constantly, transforming the entire college body. As radium has the peculiar power of imparting its own properties to very unlike bodies brought into its presence, so are the methods and inspirations of the President reproduced by the students and faculty in their dealing with each other, and that is why things run smoothly at Amherst; that is why the personal relationship between teachers and taught is so much more intimate and pleasant here than in other institutions. For this Augustan age of peace and prosperity in our college world we cannot be too profoundly thankful.

Speaking of my work as a whole, it was of priceless value to me to have inherited such a rich legacy from President Seelye. It was, to be sure, a treasure intrusted to earthen vessels, but I have done the best I could do to be faithful to the great trust, and in its administration I have been inspired by the high ideals of that peerless teacher.

I have also been fortunate in working in an age when the profoundest questions have occupied human thought. During the early classes, the religious life of young men was undergoing the most serious ferment that had been experienced in the history of the institution. The transition from extreme Calvinism to a scientific point of view that should find a place for evolution and higher criticism, was no small shock for a student to experience during the short four years of college life. Those who suffered most were those who had been most carefully sheltered from the new ideas before entering college. With many of these, the tares and the wheat were rooted up together; but in every age philosophy has been to a few young men what it was to Augustine and Neander, a star of Bethlehem, leading their steps from out the far country of skepticism, by a long and circuitous route, to be sure, but ultimately to the manger in Nazareth, where they worshiped. It has been my privilege to point out this star to our students, and to follow with them along that road.

And again, in these latest days, in this era of the "muck rake," when the newspapers have been full of political graft and private corruption, philosophy has been of real service to young men. They so easily jump to the conclusion that in political and business circles the moral life of humanity is dead, that there is no virtue but success, and no vices but those of failure and getting found out. These are sad days for our serious students, as gloomy as was that Passover to the early disciples when their Lord was crucified and Pharisaism triumphant. As then, on that first day of the week, the angel stood at the door of the empty sepulchre and assured the little group of mourners

that their Lord was not dead but had arisen, so philosophy demonstrates to our students that the spiritual life of humanity has not perished. Commercialism may crucify it, but man partakes of the divine nature; therefore conscience is immortal, and must reawaken at a time when we least expect it. There will come — may we not say in view of our recent civic awakening, has already come? — the Easter morn of the moral life of American citizenship. It is the privilege of our students to be among the first to bear witness to this resurrection; to go forth from college, not as doubting disciples, but with the spirit and the mission of apostles.

May I speak of that which enters so vitally into a student's life, namely, his ideals of action? Young men want to do something; they demand a goal towards which they may work. Happily, this is just what philosophy points out to them.

Some time ago I spent a Sunday on the Rhine. I went out from the little village on to the heights near by, and there as I took in that wonderful scene, I understood the disappointment of Ruskin at the newness of everything in America — that we had inherited so little from antiquity — in short, that our hilltops were not crowned by the ruins of ancient castles. What a priceless treasure were these old towers before me! What memories they awakened! But as I thought longer I asked myself, Why are they now in ruins? and I saw clearly it was because they stood for a civilization so narrow the world had outgrown it and left it behind. These ruined castles were the tombstones of a dead past, but that dead hand still had its grip on many of the institutions of Europe, and the people there were not quite free. I saw there was a point of

view from which one could thank God that the glory of America was not in its ruins; that we do not live in an old man's world, harking back to the fathers, but in a young man's world with our faces towards the future. Then I thought of another scene, of our own Connecticut valley and the view to be had from Mt. Holyoke or Mt. Tom. In one direction were the many spires of Amherst on College Hill, in another the buildings of Smith half hidden by the trees, and in still another those of Mount Holyoke. And I asked myself why should not the colleges and universities be the true American castles—castles that shall never fall to ruins, castles that shall serve our civilization so faithfully that it shall never cease to grow?

Has not our own Connecticut valley—or rather I should include a little larger part of New England, beginning with Yale on the south, extending to Dartmouth on the north, holding Harvard in her right hand, Williams in her left, while she cherishes Amherst, Smith, and Mount Holyoke so near to her geographical heart (to borrow a phrase from Professor W. S. Tyler),—has not this part of New England exercised as large an influence on the educational, religious, and political life of our times as the fortunes of the Rhine valley on the warfare of bygone centuries? Is this anything more than the beginning? Is not our future all before us? Are we not face to face with a new movement destined to give new power and influence to the college graduate? Heretofore, scholars have fought single-handed in their individual strength, but now they are standing shoulder to shoulder. There is a spirit of coöperation and mutual helpfulness, testified to by the way classes hang together after graduation, by the increasing importance

of fraternity life, and by that fraternity of fraternities, the alumni banquet. Does not all this augur the development of a new knighthood, the coming of the new chivalry whose task shall be not physical combat and personal power, but a constructive public service with a supreme emphasis on character?

American democracy is in one respect a structure like the old Philistine temple in the days of Samson. It is supported wholly by two pillars, law and liberty. The "spirit of greed" is a modern "Samson." Graft is his right hand and with this he lays hold of the pillar of law; the tyranny of organization is his left hand, and with this he grasps the column of liberty. We are just beginning to be conscious of the preparations he is making for exerting his whole strength. College graduates do not propose to stand idly by and see him wreck the entire superstructure, but are preparing to give him battle. Hence the organization of their civic clubs and the interest they take in public questions; hence the feeling that they live in an age where there is something to be done. They have an anxiety to thoroughly fit themselves to render great service in their time. It is here that philosophy offers to them a point of view from which to survey the field of battle and plan for the conquest.

It has been a great privilege for me to have my lot cast with such a splendid constituency, and to be permitted to share in so grand a work. I thank you with all my heart for the honor which you have conferred upon me, and for this beautiful testimonial which has been presented to my wife and myself.

PART III
LETTERS

TO THE CLASS OF 1884¹

AMHERST, *December 26, 1892.*

MY DEAR HATHEWAY:

I am sorry that the amount of my term's work left over for vacation prevents me from accepting your kind invitation to send a formal greeting to your classmates who gather on the evening of December 30th. Perhaps you will say on my behalf to them, A Merry Reunion and a Happy New Year for the Class of '84.

It is with special pride that I include myself among your number, and who has a better right? Did I not enter college with you as a Freshman, and when Senior year came around was I not still with you? True, the faculty would not allow me to graduate, and I have had to fall back a class each year since, like so many of these "college widows" in Amherst, but that diminishes in no respect my loyalty to my "first love."

The Class of '84 occupies a prominent place in the history of the college; during the four short years of your college life you witnessed more progressive changes in the institution than had taken place during

¹ Professor Garman wrote a letter of greeting to the Class of '84 at their annual winter reunion for a period of fifteen years, from 1892-1906 inclusive. This annual letter became one of the most delightful features of the reunions. The class of '97 likewise enjoyed the same privilege of an annual letter, and other classes received one or more. While intended for intimate "family gatherings" and using frequently language dictated by personal affection, they may perhaps be none the less suggestive as "Letters to Young Men" because written for real persons, in whom the author had a vital interest. As they were designed for different groups of hearers, it is not surprising that a thought or an illustration is occasionally repeated. It has seemed best, however, to print them as they were written, without excision.

the previous sixty odd years of its existence. Respecting some of these changes your class can truly say, "*quorum pars magna fui.*"

As you turn back the wheels of time and live over for a single evening college life, I trust it may be with kindly recollections of what the institution attempted for you. In one respect college conforms to Carlyle's idea of the poet Tennyson; it finds each student's mind a bit of chaos, and tries its best to manufacture it into cosmos. The subsequent history of your class proves that Amherst does not try in vain. We are proud of your record since graduation. Take a single instance as a type of all. More members of '84 have been elected to fill places on the Amherst faculty than from any class within my knowledge. I trust that as the years go on and the world learns more intimately the merits of your men, she will follow, as indeed she has begun to do, the judgment of the college, and elect a surprisingly large number to places of influence and power.

With kindest wishes and warmest affection for each one of your classmates and yourself.

AMHERST, *New Year's Day*, 1894.

MY DEAR HATHEWAY:

Your letter asking me to send greetings for your reunion reached me only this afternoon. I hasten to reply, hoping it may not be too late. I thank you for the invitation to be present to-morrow night, though not physically, yet in a way that will be to me what some one has called a re(a)d letter experience. Nothing could give me greater pleasure, unless it be the actual presence of the opportunity, which I so anticipate for the next Commencement, of seeing you all

face to face and congratulating you on the achievements of your first ten years out of college. A splendid record it is. What class can point to a better one? All honor to the Class of '84. The college is justly proud of you. We will do our best to give you a royal welcome next June. But the past is only a prophet of the future; it is to the new year—the glorious new decade, to the grand work that is to be done, the need of which these troubled times so emphasize — that I would turn your thoughts.

It seems to me that the college seal, with its sun and open Bible, and underneath the legend *TERRAS IRRADIANT*, is not quite scriptural. Christ calls not the sun or the Bible, but Himself and His disciples the light. “Ye are the light of the world.” The seal should have been a class of students with the legend *TERRAS IRRADIANT*. To-night our eyes are fixed on the Class of '84. In the coming years the dark problems of our times will ask you to illuminate them. The pride that Amherst feels in you is born of the conviction that you will not be unequal to the task. Whatever Amherst does for the world she must do through her alumni. The Class of '84 inspires her to believe that she will have contributed not a little to bring —

that season

By gifted men foretold

When men shall live by reason

And not alone by gold.

When man to man united

And every wrong thing righted,

This whole world shall be lighted,

As Eden was of old.

With such faith in you on this New Year's Day, I wish you a Happy New Year and many decades of glorious achievements.

AMHERST, *December 29, 1894.*

MY DEAR PARKER:

Please give my most cordial greetings to the Class of '84 at their annual banquet, and tell your classmates what pleasure it gave me to see so many of you here last Commencement. As we grasped you by the hand, looked into your faces, and heard the bright record of your ten years of achievements, old Amherst was thrilled with emotions of joy and gratitude for such noble sons. Amherst is fortunate in her alumni. But the peculiar loyalty of the Class of '84 to each other and to the college and to all that is manly and true, growing stronger as the years roll by, is attracting attention, and an explanation is sought by every keen observer.

When we remember that yours is the first class whose full training was under the Amherst system, we can but wonder whether this is not a case of the tree being known by its fruit. There must be something of merit in its methods of developing young men.

Prof. Drummond in speaking of the origin of sex calls attention to the recent marvelous discovery of science, that the sex of the lower species is absolutely determined by their nutrition. He mentions particular species which, at first asexual, are developed into either males or females by different processes of nurture at the critical stage of their existence. A rigorous, abstemious diet which forces them to struggle for themselves makes the male; a rich and pampered diet, leading to quiescence, makes the female. It seems to me that what is true of the physical is also true in mental evolution. Undergraduate life is a

crisis in intellectual existence. The system of training under which a class passes its four years in college has everything to do with shaping those habits of thought and action which determine whether a student shall be masculine or feminine. The Amherst system demands self-reliance, self-government. It will not do everything for the students. They must choose for themselves. They may not always choose wisely, but they must learn through their mistakes. The result is a masculine intellect, a self-possession, a self-direction, a persistent, generous, manly enthusiasm which makes students loyal to each other and to the college, and fits them for leadership in the trying emergencies of life. The old system, denying that the students were capable of self-government, cultivated the passive virtue of submission, often amounting to indifference. Under this discipline some rebelled and worked out their own salvation, but a large per cent of every class yielded, and experienced an intellectual development which was decidedly feminine. There was produced a feeling of dependence upon authority, a hesitation to assume positions of responsibility, a lack of the hardy, pioneer enterprise demanded of all those who are called to face the peculiar problems of our age. The old system made salutatorians and valedictorians as its best products. The new system makes men, and equips them with armor for fighting life's battles. We point to the Class of '84 when any one wants to know which is the better system. We feel as you gather around your table on Monday night that your consciousness of power will be conceded to date from your undergraduate development. It was that which sexed you.

I wish you great joy on this occasion. These class

reunions so quicken the memory of Amherst ideals that the influence of college life during the whole year is a kind of Gulf Stream, flowing sometimes as an under-current, and then again coming to the surface and tempering those trying experiences of your professional and business careers, as the Atlantic Gulf Stream carries far into the north a tropical climate and moisture that clothes with verdure lands which but for it would be covered with snow and frost. We have in history a record of what a yearly festival can accomplish. The Jewish Passover did more than any one thing to strengthen the Jewish character, to temper and resist those influences which threatened them from without. May your yearly banquet bind you more firmly to each other and to the high ideals of manliness. A Happy New Year to the Class of '84. As the years pass swiftly by and the responsibilities of life rest more heavily upon you, may the purity of your faith and the grandeur of your heroism be an inspiration to all the classes that are to come.

AMHERST, *December 28, 1895.*

MY DEAR PARKER:

Many thanks to you for the privilege of sending my greetings to the Class of '84 at their annual banquet. As the years go by bringing increasing consciousness of power and greater successes, may the ties that bind you together and to the college be strengthened by these gatherings. May they nerve your arms for the harder tasks of the future by making you realize how much is expected of each, and how heartily the success of one is claimed as the common honor of all.

Since your last banquet we have been called to mourn the loss of our beloved President Seelye.

Time can only make us more conscious of our debt to him as it discloses to us how much in our lives was due to his suggestion and training. President Seelye took peculiar pride in the Class of '84, and watched their unfolding with great anticipations. He respected your manly independence, he honored your frank sincerity, and admired your class spirit. He recognized it as fruit of the seed his own hands had sown. Your tender affection for him was a priceless treasure as his days and nights grew more weary. He has laid down his burdens and we mourn the loss of his beloved presence. But no one fears that the great cause with which he was identified will fail to find in Amherst graduates faithful allies and adequate support. We may express our confidence in the old exclamation heard on the death of a French sovereign, "Seelye is dead; long live Seelye!" For if it were possible to take a composite photograph of Amherst alumni, especially of the Class of '84—not a photograph of the physical man, but of the mental—it would be Seelye's own features. He lives in your lives, and in the lives of those who shall be moulded by you he shall attain immortality. In his words of advice to another he has expressed the motive, not merely of his own, but of your lives: "Truth and freedom—truth coming from whatever direction, and freedom knowing no bounds but those that truth has set."

It was a favorite doctrine of President Seelye that the scientific law of heredity held not merely of the physical part of our nature, but of those elements of character that we are wont to call acquired. You remember his words, "*omne vivum ex vivo.*" "There is no such thing as spontaneous generation in the moral world." We know not what questions may

loom up in the twentieth century, where your lot will be cast; we know not what burdens will rest upon you, but we do know whence you derived your inspiration for truth and freedom, and we know that the law of moral heredity will work itself out in your career. Amherst men have a glorious future, and we know that when hard work has to be done and sacrifice is necessary Amherst men will be worthy of their great teacher. The torch he has laid down shall be borne by their hands.

AMHERST, *December 26, 1896.*

MY DEAR TUFTS:

I thank you for your kind letter inviting me to send New Year's greetings to the Class of '84 at their annual banquet.

It touches a very tender chord in my heart to think of the loyalty of '84 men to each other and to the college during these twelve long years since you left us. It touches my pride, also, to think how true you have all been to the Amherst ideal, and what splendid work you are now doing in important positions all over our land. Were you not so modest, what an interesting roll-call this Monday evening would witness. I have half a mind to turn aside from my purpose of sending you greetings, and write some of the good things that have come to my knowledge concerning members of your class, in particular concerning those who are with us who have done so much to recompense old Amherst for what she did for you all. I am inclined to think that your rule to allow no one but members of your class at these banquets had its source in excessive modesty. But my turn will come; your Fifteenth Reunion is not so very far off, and then the

limits of a letter shall not restrain me from embarrassing you with those facts which form such a splendid part of your class history when it is written.

These twelve years of post-graduate life have been years of growth. You are beginning to be conscious of power as well as conscious of responsibilities. Jovial good fellowship is not less, but there are lines you will discover, as you look into each other's faces, which show that manly aspirations and high ideals of usefulness are coming to absorb your thoughts and make life each year more serious. No '84 man has passed through the stirring events of this year without feeling every fibre of his being thrill with joy at being privileged to take part in what I may now call, in the light of last November, not a French, but an American, Revolution. We have seen the people of the United States, in a time of great excitement and danger, rule themselves. They have checked all outbursts of passion and decided momentous questions in the calm self-possession of reason, though it involved the breaking up of old party lines. It is a grand thing to be a young man and to look forward to a future in which the great questions of civilization are to be solved, not by war and violence and partisanship, but by reason and patriotism.

This year will be memorable for another great event. Two great English-speaking nations twelve months ago were using language of defiance towards each other, and inventorying their military resources. But the heart of the common people was stirred by profounder motives than national vanity, and the true self of each nation vied with the other in bringing about the processes of arbitration. Can we doubt that our last Presidential election and the settlement

of the Venezuela difficulty are prophetic of the methods which shall prevail in the twentieth century more and more until the whole civilized world shall be brought under their dominion; that henceforth we shall celebrate more largely the victories of peace, and that the time will come when the tramp of armed hosts shall cease to be heard?

Already our National Guard is being composed of scholars, and our warfare is not with flesh and blood, but with false ideas. The Grand Army of the Republic notices each year its diminishing numbers; not very long hence its annual camp-fires will cease to burn. The camp-fires of the twentieth century will be intellectual, not military. The annual banquets of college classes will gradually supplant the reunions of veterans of battles, and the conquests of reason will be grander than any victories of Sherman or Grant. Instinct outruns intelligence. Long years after the deed is done we come first to realize how great the achievement really was. When you established your annual banquet you builded better than you knew. In physics we have long known the law of correlation of forces. We have just discovered that the same law holds in human life in the form of correlation of motives. That which in primitive times was the comradeship of arms becomes according to this law in times of peace a comradeship of scholars. The work of the scholar is more soldierly than anything the veteran can boast, more ambitious than the dreams of Napoleon, more potent than allied armies. It is this force that your banquet celebrates, and its future your poet sings. All great changes come slowly — we are more than content if only the current of events is setting in the right direction. Our hope in the future

is not the dream of the visionary. We have the pledge for it in Scripture, and the guarantee for that pledge in the spiritual nature of man and of God.

I beg you to accept my heartiest congratulations on your sixteenth reunion and all that it symbolizes. I beg you also to accept my congratulations upon the grand beginning you have already made, and upon the evidence you have already given that the course of events in the twentieth century shall not be uninfluenced by your work. With heartiest wishes for a Happy New Year to the Class of '84.

AMHERST, *December 29, 1897.*

MY DEAR KELSEY:

Your class has listened so often to communications from me that I feel embarrassed in accepting your kind invitation to write another letter for their annual banquet, January third.

I cannot, however, resist the opportunity to express anew my admiration for the class spirit and the personal loyalty that have made these occasions such a success in the past, and the coming reunion an event to be looked forward to during the entire year. Where will you find such a class record, I will not say among Amherst alumni, but among the alumni of any college or university?

The papers have just reported the "New England dinner," recently held in Boston. The eloquence of distinguished speakers there paid high tribute to the sterling qualities of our Puritan forefathers. It seems to me that your annual banquet is a true "New England dinner," and that the records you are making for yourselves, both as a class and as individuals, are a more eloquent tribute to the spirit of those who came

over in the *Mayflower* than any speeches of governors or senators on the twenty-second of December.

The spirit that inspired the Pilgrims was the spirit of freedom, of loyalty to truth at any cost. Whatever their limitations, they lived up to the light they had, and cheerfully met the sacrifices required by their convictions. This spirit inspired the founding and shaped the early history of old Amherst. It was this inspiration that you received from the teaching and example of our beloved Professor Tyler. He has just passed into his rest, but his mantle rests upon you, and your comradeship and achievements will carry forward the work he represented. It is hard to find words to express our sense of his great service to the college or to us as his pupils; I can think of no stronger terms than to say that he was a Puritan of the Puritans. True, his Greek culture and breadth of view was in striking contrast to their austere narrowness. But this discrimination is superficial: the pioneers of New England were no narrow fanatics. "By their fruits ye shall know them." I admit that their root out of the dry ground of the Old World was without form or comeliness, and that it had a bitter taste withal. But that root placed in the fertile soil of this hemisphere put forth buds and grew to a goodly tree whose leaves even are for the healing of the nations. One of the branches of that tree of life is Amherst College, and on that branch no fairer fruit than Professor Tyler. In him was the old New England virtue and manhood in its highest perfection. He was one of those whom Wendell Phillips called the "gods of the Connecticut Valley." It is a proud thing for Amherst to have had such a history, and to be known to the world as having produced such an alumnus.

It will be your privilege when many in the future, who are now unborn, shall judge the college by your achievements and lives, it will be your privilege to make them feel that they have known him in knowing you. Thus shall he join

the choir invisible
 Of these immortal dead who live again
 In minds made better by their presence ; live
 In deeds of daring rectitude, scorn
 For miserable aims that eud with self,
 In thoughts sublime that pierce the night like stars,
 And with their mild persistence urge man's arch
 To vaster issues.

AMHERST, *December 28, 1898.*

MY DEAR PARKER:

You were very kind to think of me in connection with your class book. For fifteen years I have had this honor. I have written to your class exhortations and held up before them high ideals. Year after year the class has kept marching on in its progress, realizing these ideals in a grander way than any of us could possibly have imagined. As individuals they have been found wherever there was hard work to do, and they have done it with such marked ability and faithfulness as to excite the admiration of strangers and the pride and gratitude of the college. As a class, their loyalty to each other and to the institution has been an entirely new departure in the history of the alumni, and has been imitated by many of the classes who graduated since you went out from us.

In this crisis in the life of our Alma Mater, when so much depends upon the selection of a president, the Class of '84 finds itself represented on the Board of Trustees. Five '84 men have served the college as

members of the faculty. When you meet next June for the class reunion, still in the prime of your young manhood, you will have a record that has been attained by no other class.

But the past is a pledge of the future; what you have done, you will do more abundantly. Amherst's endowment is her alumni. There are institutions that are richer in money and in buildings, but none has more loyal sons. "I have written unto you, young men, because ye are strong," said the apostle. In the spirit of the apostle, the college turns its thoughts to its young alumni. Whatever the institution is to do for the world in the twentieth century it must accomplish through them. "Freely ye have received, freely give," thus you will make the name of Amherst one that shall awaken the gratitude and admiration of those who are not yet born. As the harvest multiplies the seed, some thirty, some sixty, some one hundred fold, so shall your lives increase the efficiency of those who, like Tyler and Seelye, have long served the college, but are now gone to their rest. Greater works than these shall ye do, because they have gone to the Father.

I beg you to accept my humble recognition of the splendid history which your class has already written, and my appreciation of the possibilities of the future which is opening before you.

AMHERST, *December 28, 1899.*

MY DEAR SPAFFORD:

Please accept my thanks for your kindness in giving me an opportunity to come in touch again with the Class of '84. No one but a teacher can realize how much Amherst owes to her alumni. The corporation hold in trust the official and financial inter-

ests of the college. But these are not Amherst, any more than the most elegantly jeweled watch case is the watch. The true watch is the mainspring and the working parts, so delicately adjusted to each other, which are hidden from view; upon their perfection depends the value of the timepiece. That which makes Amherst Amherst is something which the stranger's eye cannot discover. The spirit of student life, the loyalty of the undergraduates to the college, to the administration, and to each other, as well as the harmonious working of the faculty, may be compared to the works of the watch as opposed to the case. It is upon these that the success of the institution depends, and of this part of Amherst, not the corporation, but the alumni, are the board of trustees. The position which the Class of '84 has held on that board inspires the pride and the admiration of all the teachers.

It is not merely for your past, it is especially for your future, that we are all so deeply grateful. If this phrase seems a little strange, tell your classmates that it is not cynicism that has led the present age to define gratitude as a keen appreciation for favors expected. What is this definition but an affirmation that precedent has the same power in the individual's life that it holds in diplomatic, judicial, and social spheres? It means that what man has done man can do and may be expected to do again. The record that you have made is the standard by which you desire us to estimate you in your future services to the college. The institution, therefore, could not be grateful for your past without also having a keen appreciation for favors expected from the Class of '84. God speed you in the great work you are doing.

I beg you to express to those who may be present

to-morrow night my thanks for the great courtesy they extended me last Commencement, and to assure them that this event, which proved to be my first experience in coeducation in Amherst,¹ is one of the happiest recollections of my college life. In extending my wishes for a Happy New Year to the Class of '84, I most earnestly desire to include the new members, to whom I have taught philosophy for one hour.

AMHERST, *December 29, 1900.*

MY DEAR WILLCOX:

In a recent able and exceedingly interesting article on "American Census Methods," by one of the chief statisticians, the author affirms that "a statistical table is dumb and lifeless unless its meaning is interpreted and elucidated by a competent expert." I understand your letter to me requesting a communication to be read at "the '84 annual banquet" calls for just this interpretation and elucidation of statistical facts concerning the college. The following is my attempt to meet your expectation.

1. The great change in the relation of the alumni to the college and to each other, introduced by the Class of '84, means that in later years an Amherst graduate is out of college what he was in it, a student. His education was not complete when he left Alma Mater, and he still clings to laboratory methods of getting truth first hand. He is therefore an actor rather than a spectator in the stirring events of his age. It is this character that brings you together and makes your banquet no formal affair, but as full of life and inspiration as is undergraduate life.

¹ The reference is to a lecture given to the members of the Class and their wives at their quindecennial reunion.

2. This means for the modern alumnus continued growth and increasing power. He does not fossilize as in earlier times, when Dr. Parkhurst described some as curiosities outside the museum, but he is gifted with immortal youth; though he live to the age of Gladstone, he will still be a young man. The last quarter of the nineteenth century was the springtime of your lives; the first quarter of the twentieth century will be your summer and the beginning of your harvest, one of those phenomenal harvests conspicuous by its contrasts with what have been.

3. Such a development of the alumni can but have a reflex influence on the college. At Harvard and Yale the whole undergraduate body feel the spirit of the postgraduate department. Our alumni are our postgraduates; they have a similar influence over our under-classmen and teachers. Never were these relations more sympathetic than now, under the present able administration. The college is bound to progress. As the nineteenth century saw the Amherst Academy develop into the college, so will the twentieth century see the college expand and respond to the demands made upon her, whatever these may be, even though she has to become a university to do it. Amherst is and ever shall be no mean institution. Already in our professional schools the highest compliment given to a student is to say of him: "This man was born there."

I beg you to express to your classmates our appreciation of what they have done for us, and my heartiest congratulations on the record they are making for themselves and the college. God bless them, every one of them. A Happy New Year and a good send-off for the work a new century sets before you!

AMHERST, *December 30, 1901.*

MY DEAR PARKER:

Many thanks for your invitation to send greetings to the Class of '84 on the occasion of their annual banquet, and this I most heartily do. Some time since Mr. Alvord called these reunions the "vintage of '84." Since the report of each year is always the same, namely, the best yet, one cannot help inferring that this wine improves with age. I congratulate you, therefore, on what is in store for you at your twenty-second banquet to-morrow night. The thought of it makes my mouth water, and also my eyes, when I realize I can be present only in spirit and must wait for a report in cold type of what is said and done.

If your banquets started so finely as universal testimony affirms, if each since has been better than all before, what will your "nth" reunion be?

Amherst feels towards '84 as in the days before the Civil War an old slave felt towards his young master. One day, while boasting of his merits, he was interrupted by a listener, who asked if he could be compared with some of America's great men, for instance, with Henry Clay. "Yes, indeed," replied the slave; "he is a greater man than Clay." "How about Webster?" "Greater than Webster, sir." "But surely not greater than Washington?" "Yes sir, no doubt about that; master is a very wonderful man." "Well," said the questioner, "you would not affirm that he is greater than the Almighty, would you?" "No," said the slave with some hesitation, "dunno, as I'd affirm just that, but then, sir, master is young yet."

You have been out of college nearly eighteen years, you have broken all the records. The Class of '84 is a wonderful class, but you are young yet.

Accept my heartiest congratulations and my most earnest wishes for A Happy New Year.

AMHERST, *December 29, 1902.*

MY DEAR SMITH:

I gladly avail myself of your kind invitation to send greeting to the Class of '84 at their reunion. Tell them how warm a place they hold in our hearts, and how proud Alma Mater is of them. And proud they, too, may well be of old Amherst and the record she has made this fall in football. A new era has dawned here, and a new spirit inspires the undergraduates. The new administration is making itself felt. Of the achievements in athletics and of the victory in the intercollegiate debate the press has informed you. But in another sphere the college has of late taken a long stride forward. The new catalogue will give you particulars of the "honor system" just established. This has been very favorably received and has awakened new ambition in our students. Henceforth, not merely on "the diamond" and on "the gridiron," but also in the class room will true merit receive public recognition.

We are doing our best to solve the problems of the small college, believing that these institutions have a mission now as truly as in those days when they did so much for the church and for foreign missions. Universities can beat us in endowments, in libraries, and in laboratories, but are these the only factors in the training for citizenship that the times demand? Are these alone likely to realize Aristotle's ideal, viz.: "An education that makes one do by choice what others do only by force, or through fear"? In these days of commercialism there is a strong tendency among our

young men in college to adopt that aim in life imputed by Judge Baldwin to many lawyers, *viz.*: "First, to get on; second, to get honor, and third, to get honest!" Is the fittest environment for a student just getting through his teens an institution where he is known to his teachers only by his tag number, and where he is so lost in the crowd of his fellow students as to be relieved of that personal responsibility and reputation that are such a restraining influence at home? Mr. Lowell is reported to have said, "On a map of the world you may cover Judea with your thumb, Athens with a finger, and neither of these figure in the prices current, yet they still live in the thought and action of every civilized man." Why, then, may not the success of a college be measured, not by its wealth or size, but by its contributions of manhood to the public and private life of the age? Judged by this standard, Amherst has a mission and a destiny. Ye are our witnesses.

As you gather at your annual banquet and recount the achievements of the year now drawing to its close, accept my hearty congratulations and my best wishes for a Happy New Year.

Here's to 'Eighty-four, true knights of the modern "Round Table,"

A glorious company, the flower of men.

Most truly have you

Served as model for the alumni world

And been the fair beginning of a time.

Nearly twenty years out of college; soon you will send your sons to Amherst. Of them we expect great things, —

Where great deeds were done

A power abides, transferred from sire to son.

AMHERST, *December 29, 1903.*

TO 'EIGHTY-FOUR:

The experiences of graduate life cannot have effaced from memory those few joyous occasions in college when word went around that "Professor —— is out of town, and there will be no recitation in —— to-day." How much those uncatalogued vacations meant to many students, yes, to all, even the elect, *viz.*, to 'Eighty-four! How unkind when more than once the absent instructor cut short his trip and returned just in time for class!

For nearly twenty years I have inflicted a letter upon your annual banquets. Now this is a sabbatical year. Word has gone around that I am abroad. You are all sure of a well-earned rest. I am greatly mortified to surprise you and show up with another epistle. It is all the fault of your president. I intended to keep still, but he wrote me this morning saying, "I am under the impression that you have gone across the sea, but lest I may be mistaken," etc.

I should have been "across the sea" but for the strenuous objection of my physician to my spending the winter on the continent. Forced to remain in this country, I have chosen Amherst as the very best possible place for doing that which my college duties have so long prevented. You see I have caught on to the trick some of your own class devised away back in those days when the "college used to withdraw" from students who had cut over in church and chapel. I have learned how to be "constructively absent," but really present, reaping all the benefits of a college opportunity.

In the spring we are planning to take our deferred

trip. It gives us great pain to think that this involves being absent from your Twentieth-year Reunion at Commencement time. We should be so glad to greet you then. We have looked forward to that occasion as astronomers anticipate the great celestial events.

Be assured of our deep interest in the Class of '84, which has done so much for the college; of our faith in your future, as well as of our gratitude for your past. May the New Year be indeed a happy one and bring with it every possible blessing.

AMHERST, *December 28, 1904.*

MY DEAR '84:

I cannot tell you how sorry we were to be in Germany the Commencement during which you celebrated your twentieth anniversary; we did so want to welcome you back to Amherst, to take each one by the hand, and to thank you personally for all that '84 has done. You can never realize how much influence you have, and have had, over the recent classes and the undergraduates. They look up to and reverence you. 'Eighty-four is a name to conjure with when we need to quicken the pace of our students.

I am extremely grateful for my sabbatical year; a part of it was spent in work at Amherst, but our summer in Berlin gave us a new inspiration. Think of such a city governed without a taint or suspicion of municipal corruption! Is it not a prophecy of what is to be in America? It strengthened my faith in humanity to look at our problems from that distance and vantage ground. It inspired me with enthusiasm as I saw the great moral questions of society forging to the front. It is simply impossible to call out the best in students unless a great cause appeals

to them and fixes their attention. Undergraduates are beginning to feel the uplift, the ground swell of the great problems of the age. The first wave of commercialism has lost its force, the deeper, truer view of life is beginning to take shape; we face an era which promises the very best things for our young men.

You have served your apprenticeship, you have now reached positions of responsibility and influence. You have been faithful in a few things, you shall now be rulers over many. As your class has pulled together and been a unit in its service to the college, so may you all work together as one man for the uplift of the moral life of our age. Amherst must make its influence felt on the citizenship of the twentieth century as she did on the church in the nineteenth.

A score of years is a long time to be out of college. A large number of the students here now were not born when you left us, but you are still young alumni. Your class can never grow old, any more than can the college itself. Your enthusiasm and loyalty for the institution has in it the gift of immortal youth.

I beg you to accept my heartiest congratulations on what you are and have done for the college, and my best wishes for the grand future that is opening before you as you begin the new decade.

AMHERST, *December 28, 1905.*

MY DEAR WHEELER:

I beg you to express to the Class of '84 at their annual banquet our heartiest thanks for their splendid service to Alma Mater. The restored College Hall is the pride of Amherst. It is a model of classic dignity and simplicity, a thing of beauty and, therefore, a

joy forever. I know of nothing in recent times that has given such universal satisfaction and inspired so much favorable comment. This is a type of the work your class has been doing ever since graduation; ever conserving all that was good in the old, but striving to so remodel and add thereto as to meet the severest demands of the coming age. Verily, you "came not to destroy, but to fulfill." Our indebtedness to you is great.

You will be pleased to know that the college is progressing with rapid strides, not merely that it is increasing so fast in numbers, but that the standard of student life is higher. This is shown by their recent adoption of the "honor system" in examinations and by the new life that has been infused into the Young Men's Christian Association. This is in some measure stimulated by the reforms that have been wrought out in public affairs. The great civic awakening, in particular, the results of the November elections, have deeply impressed our students. It is a time that reminds older men of the days when the great anti-slavery movement was being brought to a culmination. Such epochs educate young men along the lines of moral heroism. We have with us now students who feel responsibilities for public service later. They are men who have a future before them that will not suffer the traditions of old Amherst to lapse. The wisdom and patience and skill of the present administration is bringing forth the richest harvest. Our entering class is nearly one hundred and sixty, a gain of thirty over last year.

The student body is most enthusiastic in its loyalty. The alumni gatherings at Commencement, and also those during the year, testify to the great satisfaction

that is felt in the work of the institution. The outlook is the brightest.

I beg you to remember me personally to each member of the Class of '84, and to assure them how grateful we all are for the help and inspiration they have given us.

With heartiest congratulations and a thousand wishes for all that is necessary to make the coming New Year the best of all that have been.

AMHERST, *December 29, 1906.*

MY DEAR KELSEY:

The year that is drawing to its close has brought great prosperity to the country and also to Alma Mater. It was flood tide before, but now the record has been broken. The alumni gathering at Commencement was the largest in the history of the institution. The entering class this year catalogue one hundred and seventy-seven, making a total for the college larger than we have ever had. The building fund of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for biological and geological laboratories that was completed last Commencement will secure before another anniversary the beginning of a magnificent building. President and Mrs. Harris, after seven years, during which they have devoted their entire energies to the institution, are beginning to reap the fruits of their efforts. They are now in Paris enjoying a sabbatical year. The college, under the able management of Professor Olds, is running very smoothly with no loss of momentum.

In October our sky was overcast and we passed into the shadow of darkest night in the sudden death of Professor Richardson in the prime of his life, while

he was doing his best work and enjoying the highest esteem of students and colleagues. He joined the "Choir Invisible" and left a place vacant that will not be easy to fill. In that great throng, of which he is now a member, were already President Seelye and Professors Tyler, Mather, Neill, Chickering, Frink, Elihu Root, and Dr. Field. Professor Frink came to Amherst after your day, but the others were all here when you entered. If we add to this number those who have recently resigned, Professor Esty and Professor Morse, we realize how large a change has taken place in the faculty since you were students. Of all those who were full professors then, only five remain. Verily the work of the college, as well as of the country, is being done by younger men. Your generation is at the front. They have had their day; it is your opportunity. The torch they have wearied carrying must be borne by you and your comrades. We rejoice to believe that it will not be allowed to burn less brightly or be less carefully guarded.

The retirement of Professor Morse finds us wholly unable to be reconciled to his loss. We anticipate the great pleasure of receiving in printed form the results of his many years of investigation, but we shall miss beyond the power of words to express his work and influence in the institution. His judicial temper, his comprehensive view, his sound judgment, — that is, his rare, perfect sanity, — and his warm heart, together with his scholarly methods, have made his classroom a California climate in which the growth and maturing of his students has been phenomenal. There are to-day in our country many able and interesting teachers of facts, but those who have divine insight and the genius for interpreting the great events

of life are few, and have never been many in any age. Wherever in history a great seer has laid down his work, his successor has not been forthcoming. Other prophets have arisen, but each with his own mission, destined to accomplish an important task, but not to continue his predecessor's. There will never be but one Professor Morse. It was the good fortune of your class to be reckoned among those who have felt the inspiration of his teaching. In years to come, when we shall have won great fame through his publications, you will prize as a priceless treasure the memory of his friendship. To you much has been given, and therefore from you much has been required. Nobly has the Class of '84 responded to the demands, brilliant is the record of this more than a score of years since you left. It inspires in us the highest confidence in the future when you are at the helm.

With kindest greetings from Mrs. Garman and myself and with heartiest wishes for a Happy New Year.

TO THE CLASS OF 1893

AMHERST, *February 14, 1895.*

MY DEAR BREED:

I thank you very much for making it possible for me to be present at your class banquet Saturday night, "literally" as well as in spirit. Time passes rapidly with you, but with us it seems hardly yesterday that '93 were with us doing such fine work as undergraduates. I beg you to assure your classmates that our interest in them is just as keen as the day they left us, and that we are not a little proud of the fine record they are making.

If you want a letter from old Amherst look into each other's faces and read it there. Ye are our epistles. The college has "writ large" some things in your character which he who runs may read, but other things are in a finer hand, some things, indeed, in invisible ink which only the chemistry of experience can render legible. Perhaps you are beginning to realize to what an extent your lives have been shaped and moulded by four years at Amherst, but it will still take long years to make it all visible.

I want to say just a word of encouragement. In the midst of all the experiences which you find tedious in the preparation for a professional life, in the face of all the limitations which depraved human nature puts in your way, never lose sight of the reserve energies that are latent in each one of you. Judge yourselves not by what you are, but by what you have it in your power to be. Make this the measure of your obligation to service.

General Sheridan speaks of an instance of the most extraordinary exertion which he ever came across in his military career, as that of a scout who rode nearly two hundred miles in the saddle without rest, through hostile Indian territory, to deliver a message of great importance. That which nerved this brave fellow's strength was the consciousness of how much hung upon the successful performance of this mission. You will receive superhuman strength in the roughest places in life if you keep ever in mind that you bear a message of great importance to the world. It makes little difference whether you deliver it in the language of medical science, or in the speech of the bar, or the technical formulæ of theology from the pulpit, or in the popular speech of the press and of literature, provided that the substance is ever true to the heavenly vision you have received. But you will derive your greatest inspiration and courage from the thought that besides bearing a message you yourselves are Amherst's message to the world.

Christ's discourses were in Aramaic and have come down to us only in translations, some of which are bungling and full of errors, but when he sent his disciples forth as living words on the day of Pentecost he sent a message that did not have to be translated. Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and Cappadocia, in Pontus, and Asia, strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes, could all understand lives of heroism and self-denying service, for character is the mother tongue of every nation. Those who have long forgotten this native speech are touched when they hear of heroism and devotion as though they listened to the tender accents of home at their mother's knee.

Speak through your lives these words, and men of every kindred and people and nation will welcome you as brothers. The dust of the street will never so blind your eyes that you cannot see God's image in the faces of your fellow-men. However much this form may be disfigured, it is there, and your persistent recognition of it cannot fail to awaken divine response.

It is because '93 are so grand and loyal to the mission and have a vision so clear of the great possibilities which are to be realized by them that I count it great joy to have been privileged to have had a share in their college life.

With heartiest greetings and best wishes for the coming year.

AMHERST, *February 2, 1894.*

MY DEAR NORTON:

Will you please give my heartiest greetings to the Class of 'Ninety-three and tell them that the memory of their splendid work last year in philosophy is a bright angel to me that gives no little courage when I most need it?

A teacher cannot help missing students when they go out from under him. When we lose friends by death, no matter how strong our faith in immortality, or how sure that those who have left us have entered into that life where there is no night, we are such miserable slaves of the senses that we cannot help feeling lonesome without them, and this is true of our little college world as the classes go from us into the larger life of power and usefulness. There is one blessed fact to the advantage of our college existence, and that is the spiritualistic claims of communication with the departed can be realized through that me-

dium, the postman. Availing myself of this agency, I beg you to give me a full account of what the 'Ninety-three men are doing.

Your class, many of them, went soon after Commencement to the Columbian Exposition. This was your first experience as postgraduates. Perhaps to some it was as the high mountain in Scripture from which our Lord beheld "all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them." I trust, without the accompanying temptation. I would fain believe, however, as they saw what man has achieved, that it became to them a Mount of Transfiguration of Humanity, and therefore of themselves as partakers of the Universal Spirit which has thus worked itself out in our civilization; that to them the Moses and Elias, the law and the prophets of the past, spake of the grandeur of their future in the twentieth century. Columbus it was who made a path through the sea to this promised land: listen to him as he speaks of the faith that inspired his voyage. I know of no grander scene in history, no more exalted heroism than when, in spite of the fears and cowardice of his crew and his own alarm at deviations of his compass, he still held firmly to those great principles of astronomy and physics which had, before he started, convinced him of another shore. To be a hero in battle is merely to follow the footsteps of a great company of patriots who fairly blaze with glory, but to be alone on an unknown sea, where the very laws of nature seem to be changing, and the most trusted friends call you crazy, and then to dare every peril, inspired by the faith in the unseen country, is sublime. Let this be a prophecy for your life. The old country from which you set sail in your voyage of life is the material side

of human nature. It is the kingdom of brain paths where selfishness is sovereign, and it is the prevailing view of the citizens of this country that there is no other land. In your study of philosophy you became convinced that human nature was a world with another shore, a spiritual America, . . . the home of Freedom, a country whose inhabitants shall be citizens of the Kingdom of Truth, whose Columbian Exposition shall be not a "White City," but all that is grand and heroic in human life.

I beg you to be a Columbus in your business or profession. You will be ridiculed for this faith as he was for his; but refuse to deal with men simply as selfish beings, and if all your efforts seem to come to naught, and those who are your helpers beg to give up the voyage and turn back, I beg you to hold to the great principles of philosophy; push boldly on towards the other shore. The early years of your professional life must be spent in the lower positions, where you see only the "Old World"; but if your heart does not fail, there will come a time when you shall have passed the fogs of obscurity and the stormy seas of ridicule, and shall find a response for the spiritual side of human life, and then you will be men of power.

This is the message I would transmit through you to your classmates, be they teachers, doctors, lawyers, or business men. Expect to find yourselves at the start on the selfish hemisphere of humanity, but never for a moment doubt the reality of the spiritual in each individual, nor doubt that, if found, it will in time have a warm welcome for you; that in its soil will grow all that is noblest and purest in life, and that the selfish will never cease to marvel at what you will accomplish there.

TO THE CLASS OF 1894

AMHERST, *December 30, 1896.*

MY DEAR STONE:

I thank you for your kind invitation to send greetings to the Class of '94 at their annual banquet, January 1st. How I would like to take each one of your classmates by the hand and wish him a Happy New Year. What a satisfaction it would be to look into their faces and see with my own eyes those I so much enjoyed meeting in the class room three years ago. I often think of the splendid work which the Class of '94 did in philosophy, and forecast in imagination the orbit of a life of which college was so promising a beginning.

This year brings your triennial, and it will give us great pleasure to welcome you back to Amherst. You can hardly realize the changes which have come to the college since you graduated. Next Commencement noon the entire student body will be composed of those who have entered since you left. During this period, President Seelye and Mr. Austin Dickinson have passed away, and we deeply mourn their loss. In addition, of the thirty-four persons who constituted the entire membership of the faculty, including librarian, at the time you graduated, nine are not now found on the faculty roll. Professor Sterrett has also been absent the entire year, and Professor Morse is to be absent the next two terms. It is not often that the *personnel* of an army corps in time of battle changes so rapidly as this. When you come back at

reunion and find so many strangers in your places you will understand what a delight it is to us who are on the ground to see the alumni from time to time and to realize that though they have gone out from us they are still silent partners, deeply interested in the welfare of the college. You are all stockholders in this institution; the value of your diplomas is enhanced by its prosperity. The noble record which Amherst alumni are making for themselves in so many postgraduate courses, both at home and abroad, is a rich dividend to every Amherst man, and in turn constitutes an endowment to the college of larger value than can be experienced in monetary terms.

Notice the trend of public sentiment in America. The large gifts of money that are being made to universities do not come from mere individual whims. Shrewd business men have discovered that these institutions are splendid investments and therefore they are putting into them large amounts of capital. It was not so long ago that Europe was priding herself upon her past, and, pointing to her ruined castles, taunted America as being a mere commercial nation; but American glory is not in her ruins; hers is a rising, not a setting, sun. What the castles were to mediæval Europe, the universities and colleges shall be to the twentieth century. Our athletics fill the place of the old tournaments, and the investigations which are being carried on in every department are conquests of greater glory than were formerly won by sword and spear. The loyalty of the alumni to each other and to their institutions has in it much of chivalric passion. But we believe we are on the eve of changes like those which followed the feudal days. We are conscious of what may be called feudal limita-

tions. Many of the evils so frequently noted in modern undergraduate life are due in part to the rivalry of colleges with each other — a bidding for membership and endowments which makes them tolerant where they should be critical. But gradually these institutions will come to exist, not for themselves, but for humanity, for the state; and the position of an institution will be determined, not by what it gets, but by what it gives to the world; instead of rivalry there will be coöperation, until Dr. Stanley Hall's dream will be realized "and our institutions will be specialized, each furnishing a kind of training in some particulars unique, adapted to the peculiar needs of various classes of students."

We take great pride in pointing to the work Amherst has already done, and the splendid recognition she has received in postgraduate schools, and not merely here but also in public life. It touches our pride to feel that '94 has in it material for just such recognition, and that your service to the world will confer great honor upon the institution whose name you bear. Life is long: it takes time for even an orchard to come into bearing condition, but we feel sure that when your time does come every man of you will esteem it a great honor to be known as a '94 man. To some of you this year will be an eventful one. You will finish your professional work. Your voyage on inland waters will be a thing of the past. Next Commencement you will have crossed the bar, and be setting your sails on the open ocean of life. To all I give my most cordial congratulations, and say "*Bon voyage.*"

AMHERST, 1905.

MY DEAR BACKUS:

I thank you heartily for giving me an opportunity to send a message to the class of '94. It will do something to make up for our great disappointment at not being in Amherst during your decennial. We had looked forward to that occasion, we had hoped to extend to you a hearty welcome that should testify to how large a place '94 holds in our affections.

We heard the most brilliant reports concerning your reunion. It was truly a star event. It marks a new era in Commencements, and, for that matter, it seems now, in the whole work and prospects of the college. When it was announced last fall that we were to have nearly one hundred and seventy in our entering class every one was taken by surprise. Naturally we have been seeking an explanation. The prevailing opinion now is that the alumni awakening brought about by the institution of the Trophy Cup Contest has contributed in no small degree thereto. Never in the history of the college have the alumni in such large numbers been brought in so close touch with their Alma Mater. Your plan also for enlisting the interest of the non-graduates has given results that inspire in us the highest gratitude.

In a university, postgraduate students exercise an influence like that here of the Seniors on the Freshmen. Where so many remain for professional study, for three and four years, it is an enormous help to the faculty in maintaining high ideals of work and life. But in the small college no sooner are students brought up to that level where they are workers together with, rather than under the instructors, than they are gone,

and the faculty must begin all over with new men. We are continually losing momentum. Unless the alumni can be brought back often and persuaded to maintain an intimate relationship with the institution, we suffer in our work a disadvantage of no small proportions. I cannot tell you how much new courage your Trophy Cup has inspired. The large numbers in the classes returning at Commencement and the hearty enthusiasm and loyalty mean everything to our students. A spirit of confidence is awakened. The verdict of those who look back on the college course with the perspective of active life has great weight; it is a stimulus to do their part in keeping up the standards and reputation of old Amherst.

If the highest art is to conceal art, the present administration has attained no common measure of success. Things here are running very smoothly now. The loyalty of the student body is most hearty, the promises for the future are very flattering. When you come back to your next reunion it is probable that Amherst will no longer be a small college.

Yours is a class with a record; in 1894 you fought the battle of the college Senate; in 1904 you created an epoch in our Commencements. What surprise are you preparing for us when another ten years shall have passed and you return in 1914? *'Ninety-four* is the class of progress.

We have followed with keenest interest the splendid work your men are doing in business and in the professions, and take great pride in your rapid advancement. Accept our warmest thanks for the honor you are bringing to the college and our heartiest congratulations on your prospects for the future.

TO THE CLASS OF 1896

AMHERST, 1906.

MY DEAR JAGGAR:

It gives me great pleasure to respond to your request for a little "news from old Amherst." The years that have passed since you graduated mark an epoch in the history of our country, and also in the development of this institution.

The large Freshman class which entered last September, numbering over one hundred and seventy men, is proof that the public has begun to appreciate the splendid work of President Harris. The stand which he has taken for the small college, and for the development of the humanities, appeals to the sentiment of the age.

When you return for your decennial you will be surprised at the numbers and the enthusiasm of the alumni who attend Commencement. The trophy cup, instituted two years ago by '94, has achieved results beyond the anticipations of every one. 'Ninety-six, so clearly the leader in every good work, must surely win it. You simply must, because you are '96, add this to your brilliant record.

The interests of the public are absorbing the attention of our undergraduates, as is evidenced by the organization of the Civic Club in so many of our colleges. Henceforth these institutions are to compete, not only in athletics, but in preparation for public service.

The intercollegiate banquet of delegations from these clubs which was held in New York recently, and the visit to Washington, where they were presented

to President Roosevelt, are the beginning of a larger interest in some of the most serious problems of the age. This guarantees that it will be "the glory not merely of the German University, but of the American College to stand *vis-a-vis* with the nation."

I cannot tell you all the good things that are being planned just now. I can only say that when you come next June you will open your eyes wide with surprise as you see models and maps of the new Amherst which the committee of landscape gardening and architects have devised for realization in the near future. The "powers that be" are thoroughly converted to the Greek idea that a beautiful soul can dwell only in a beautiful body, and they are going to make the material Amherst a fit place for the incarnation of that spiritual life, that broad, deep culture, that noble, manly enthusiasm and purpose that has been the glory of this institution through its history. The time is coming when the alumni will be as proud of their Alma Mater as were the ancient Romans of their "Eternal City," when it will be the highest compliment to say of public men, "This man or that man was graduated there."

Speaking of the immediate future, our brightest hope, our keenest expectations centre in greeting an extraordinarily large delegation of '96 next June.

Yours was a brilliant class. The years fold together in memory; the coming Commencement will pick up the threads just where you dropped them. You will find our hearts just as warm and our enthusiasm as keen as when you went out from us bearing our Godspeed.

With heartiest greeting and a warmest welcome for every man.

TO THE CLASS OF 1897

AMHERST, 1897.

MY DEAR '97:

Through the kindness of Mr. E. T. Esty I am permitted to send you my greetings on the occasion of your first reunion. Accept my heartiest congratulations upon the class loyalty which brings so many of you together at this time. May the inspiration of this occasion strengthen your nerves and quicken your pulse for many years to come, as it awakens the convictions that the bonds of college life are not weaker but stronger when college days are over. May you be inspired with the thought that wherever you go and whatever success you achieve, the interest and sympathy and rejoicing of the entire class is centered in each member, that each one has the high ideals and the honor of '97 in his keeping.

If Napoleon, in Egypt, could say to his soldiers, "Forty centuries are looking down upon you" from those pyramids, each student may say to himself: Not merely the twice forty years of Amherst's past are watching me as I fight life's battle, but the eyes of my classmates also are upon me, and their hearts, too, are with me, and I cannot fail. I assure you that you have made a very large place for yourselves in our hearts — how large we hardly realized until we found what a vacant space there was when you had gone. Every one of your teachers was firmly attached to the class of '97, but those who taught you last miss you

the most. It will be a great inspiration to us to hear from time to time of the splendid work you are doing, and to see your faces and to clasp you by the hand when you can get back to old Amherst. We have great faith in your future — a faith that “is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.” We predict a life of splendid achievements, of grand service to humanity, of great satisfaction to yourselves and honor to your class. This faith is so strong with us that I would fain impart some of it to you, should any of your number need such encouragement just at this time. It is a great change to go from college to the professional school, and possibly this change may bring with it an element of disappointment. At Commencement you had reached the summit of your college course, the highest level of academic life, and found it a sort of Mount of Transfiguration. Now, all of a sudden, you find yourselves in the valley, the lowest position in the professional schools, mere beginners. In the seminary you have to learn the alphabet and paradigms of Hebrew, in the law and medical schools you start with the very rudiments of these sciences. The change is as great as the transition from the full bloom of the trees in May, when nature possesses the beauty and fragrance of Paradise, to the small green fruit of June. But this is not “a come down”; this is progress according to the law of growth. One must not expect the harvest until fall. I want to urge you to be patient in growing. That is my message to you to-night. Be willing to pass through these days of obscurity and rejoice in them, because in this way you will enter into such a rich future. When the two disciples went to Emmaus from Jerusalem, their eyes were holden. It

was only after Christ had vanished out of their sight that they realized what an opportunity had been within their reach. Could they have realized it on the way, what questions they would have asked; how much richer for all ages would have been the narratives of the Gospels! It seems to me one's professional school is one's journey to Emmaus, and students are quite likely, in their impatience to get into active life, to overlook the opportunity which it offers. If your professional school has been well chosen, in all your future life you will look back upon the possibilities which it opens up to you, and I want to beg you now to realize *with whom you are walking*. Continue for a little time longer the splendid work so many of you did at old Amherst, and the recognition you will receive will make you forget how much you have paid for success. You will then no longer be disciples, but apostles, speaking with power to the century that will just begin as you enter your profession. It is a grand privilege to live in such an age. It is the grandest thing one can imagine to be able to shape the life and direct the thought of the twentieth century.

AMHERST, *December 15, 1899.*

MY DEAR ESTY:

My heartiest congratulations to your classmates on the occasion of their annual banquet. Next Commencement is your triennial, and we are congratulating ourselves on the hope of seeing a large number back. A cordial greeting awaits you. You made so large a place in our hearts that we have missed you these years more than we have dared to express. It will give a new inspiration to life to clasp your men by the hand again. We have heard from time to

time of their postgraduate successes, and it has always been the best of news. Every one here is as enthusiastic over the work you all are doing as we were over the work you did as undergraduates.

The attention of our college world to-day is divided between South Africa and Hotel Worthy. We awoke this morning to read in parallel columns in the papers of the defeat of Lord Methuen by the Boers, and the discomfiture of the Sophomores by the Springfield police. Amherst has not been distinguished this year for her athletics, and this contest will hardly add to her reputation. When, in the history of the college, has there been an instance of a committee of Sophomores escorting in a private carriage, at their own expense, the Freshman class president to the hotel where the Freshman banquet was to be held? Truly the Sophomore lion did not know the difference between a Freshman lamb and a fox; but, like the British lion in South Africa, he has his eyes opened now.

This, however, is a mere episode in college life. It is simply an illustration of that clause in President Harris's Inaugural when he quoted Professor Hadley as saying, "Two thirds of each student is a boy." It no more indicates the spirit that has prevailed at Amherst during the fall than the fact that the hundredth anniversary of the death of Washington finds the great American Republic attempting to treat the patriots of the Philippines as the British attempted to treat the Father of our country is an indication that the majority of the American people have forgotten the ideals and spirit of the first President of our republic. The new administration is making an exceedingly favorable impression, and the life of the college is on a high level. We have every reason for expect-

ing the very best things in the future, and we believe that you will ever be as proud of the college as your Alma Mater has been and ever will be of the class of '97.

AMHERST, *February 8, 1901.*

MY DEAR BLAKE:

It was very kind in you to ask me to send a word of greeting to your classmates on the occasion of their annual banquet, Saturday evening. I beg you to extend to them my heartiest congratulations and best wishes.

It was a great inspiration to meet so many of them last Commencement. It did us all good to be assured that three years of active work or of life in other institutions had not diminished their loyalty to Amherst.

You found that many changes had been made here since your graduation; most conspicuous were those on the college grounds. We are doing our best to make these material improvements a type of progress all along the line. The new catalogue shows something of what has been done, especially for the curriculum.

We have a fine set of students who are true as steel and doing excellent work. If you notice the numbers recorded in the catalogue you will see that to belong to Amherst in the opening of the new century is to be a member of "the four hundred."

Dr. Harris has made a splendid beginning; his heart and his head and his strength are wholly devoted to the institution. Under his able management the College will not cease to be one of which any alumnus is justly proud, no matter what progress other institutions may make.

Attention has recently been called to Steele's remark in *The Tatler* concerning Lady Elizabeth Hastings: "To love her was a liberal education." Is not this peculiarly true of Amherst? The pride and devotion of an alumnus for Alma Mater is a mighty uplifting power in these days of commercialism. As life alone can beget life, so Amherst men love the college because she first loved them and gave her best for them. No class has ever held a warmer place in her heart than the splendid Class of '97, and in no class does she find a warmer response. It was a red-letter day for us when you returned last Commencement to celebrate your triennial, and it will be another such day at your quinquennial.

AMHERST, *February 6, 1902.*

MY DEAR MAXWELL:

Your request for a letter of information concerning the college to be read at your class banquet bears on the envelope a Wall Street address. This suggests to me the business point of view and the effect on Amherst stock of recent developments.

The Trust microbe has not yet attacked institutions of learning. No options on Amherst have yet been given. Our president has recently affirmed that a college we are, and a college we shall remain. There is as sharp competition in education as is experienced in the business world. A new plant is going up this very year in Worcester which cannot but have some effect on Massachusetts colleges. But our rivalry is less in getting than in giving. So long as Amherst can send out such finished products as our present alumni, we have little to fear. Such a class as '97 cannot be discounted. Ye are our advertisement, and

a paying one too. The world knows a good thing when it is brought forward. Taking into account our graduates and the material in our present student body, Amherst stock is sure to remain above par for some time to come.

We have just passed through a very attractive social event. The recent Junior Promenade was the most brilliant success of the whole series. At Amherst an undergraduate lives in an atmosphere of social influence that can hardly be equaled in any other institution in America. A trolley line to Northampton, and another to be built this spring through the Notch to South Hadley, will make Smith and Mount Holyoke Colleges very close neighbors. Educated as our students are to love their neighbors as themselves, you can hardly realize how friendly are the relations that Amherst maintains with these sister institutions. When the South Hadley line is completed, there will be fulfilled the prophecy of the old Hebrew seer, namely, "the days will come when seven women will lay hold of one man and beg to be called by his name." Who would not be an Amherst undergraduate? Do you wonder that we do not fear competition from the new collegiate department at Clark University?

President Hyde of Bowdoin in a recent article on Education says: "It is just beginning to dawn upon us that a grain of inspiration is worth many ounces of information . . . that knowledge is but one of a dozen of the ends of education." I cannot give you any adequate idea of the way we have it at old Amherst if I do not speak of the new life that has come into our midst in President and Mrs. Harris. Of his splendid work you have heard so much that I will not

say more now. But of Mrs. Harris's influence over the students and the inspiration her home gives to the whole college you can have little idea; only by living here for weeks could you realize it. You would hardly believe me if I attempted to state the facts. I will simply say that what Queen Victoria was to British subjects the President's wife is to Amherst undergraduates.

I beg you to give my heartiest good wishes to your classmates at their reunion, and tell them how glad we shall be to see them back here next year. We anticipated that good fortune this coming Commencement. But you always did break every record, and so of course you have transferred the five-year reunion into one of six. May it turn out a great success. There will be a cordial welcome in store for you then.

AMHERST, *January 8, 1903.*

MY DEAR BIRD:

Greetings to the Class of '97 on the occasion of their annual banquet. Ask them to accept our hearty congratulations on the achievements of nearly six years out of college. Judge Baldwin considers the aim of many lawyers to be, first, to get on; second, to get honor; third, to get honest,—if they can. I am sure that you who are business men have just reversed this process. First, you were honest to start with. To that all your teachers testify. Second, you gained honor while here in college. Third, since leaving you have been honestly and honorably getting on finely. What is true of you holds also of the lawyers, teachers, and preachers, of the doctors, authors, and journalists of '97. All honor to such a class. You are men after our own heart. Josh Billings used to say, "What I

call good poetry is the kind I would have writ myself." That is just why we here at Amherst think so much of your class.

When the older alumni return at Commencement, that which surprises them most is not the changes about town or on the campus. They are not startled to find three trolley lines taking the place of the old stage-coach so familiar to them, or a beautiful common where they knew only a frog pond, or the elegant lawn north of Walker Hall that has replaced the farm buildings and apple orchard of their day—not these things, but the splendid comradeship of the younger alumni, and their loyalty to the college. You, and the recent classes that follow your example, are the wonder and admiration of the "Older Amherst." How much richer is college life now, as compared with their time. No longer a dull grind, it has become an experience through which young manhood unfolds as do the buds in May. College is an Amherst man's springtime. Class and fraternity comradeships, enthusiasm in athletics, and social aspirations, are the flowering out of lives that under the old-time training would have remained bare and dead. Our graduates are not bookworms, mere memories well stocked, or logical machines in coats and trousers; they are real live men, with throbbing pulse and a heart that is large and warm. To such men a college course is a second birth, and Amherst is in no figurative sense Alma Mater. How then can they help being enthusiastic and loyal.

In athletics you no longer have to apologize for the luck of the teams. We who are on the inside recognize in the football victories of the past season the new life that is being infused by the administration

into all departments of the college. Never has a team worked harder or been more loyally supported by the student body. That's the way we have it now at new Amherst — whole-heartedness is coming to be the spirit of the institution. Not merely in athletics, but also in the class room the strenuous life is no stranger.

Come back at Commencement and see for yourselves how smoothly affairs are running, and witness the enthusiasm and appreciation of the graduating class for "Prexy." Share with them their joy and pride in the victories of the year, and join in their cheers for one who has done more to inspire faithful training and insure success on every hard-fought field than all the coaches — and we have never had better ones. You will have a glorious time, and so shall we. A hearty welcome awaits you.

AMHERST, *February 2, 1904.*

MY DEAR ESTY:

You were very kind to invite me to send a letter to your coming class reunion. As it is my sabbatical year, you will not expect a report from the college, but you may be interested to know just what a teacher, who has always preached to students against taking cuts, does when it is time to take advantage of a certain "allowed number of absences." I can only say that I am heartily converted to the "cut system."

My trip west as far as Winnipeg, Manitoba, last summer brought me in contact with the great industrial development of that region, and gave me invaluable opportunities for studying many practical problems. This spring and summer I am planning a trip in another direction, which I hope may prove equally

instructive and inspiring. Incidentally, one feature of my Western tour was the meeting of several Amherst alumni of several years standing. I was deeply impressed by the splendid work that Amherst men are doing in almost every department of active life, and I was proud to learn of the high regard in which they are held in the communities in which they labor. They are a grand set of men, forging rapidly to the front, making the name of Amherst one to be conjured with even among strangers.

The reports which we get from '97 show that very rapidly your men are assuming positions of influence and responsibility. The college has invested in you and in the other classes the best that she has. Your service to the world is the dividend that she has a right to expect in return. We are proud of the fact that there is so little water to be squeezed out of Amherst's stock by vicissitudes that may arise. We rejoice that all over our land it is generally considered as gilt-edge security. We know that your class already has done and in the future will do much more to put its value far above par.

Give my hearty congratulations to your men and tell them that their past has created expectations which are promissory notes that it will be no easy task for them to redeem in the future.

AMHERST, *January 11, 1905.*

MY DEAR '97:

I have taken up my work after a year's leave of absence with renewed courage. It did me a world of good to see the problems of life and society abroad. It quickened my pride and strengthened my faith in the future of our own country. I better understand

the great questions that will tax the twentieth century for their solution. When the events now transpiring shall be seen in proper perspective, it will appear that the epoch just before us is second to none in history. The thought of it, and the hope of taking part, however humbly, in its tasks is enough to inspire every man with the highest enthusiasm. As there cannot be any great epic poem that does not treat of a great theme, so no individual life can be grand and heroic unless it is spent in the service of a great cause. But in our time, not one great cause, but almost every one that has shaped the cause of civilization from the beginning has in some form or another reappeared, and in some part of the globe constituted a live issue.

It is a great thing to be an American citizen and live right on the firing line of progress.

The world has been thrilled with the self-sacrificing devotion of the Japanese soldier who gives up everything for his country in times of war. The world is to be thrilled by the self-sacrificing devotion of our American young men who devote their life and energies to the success of their own country in the conquests of peace. Your turn is coming. We see you year by year forging towards the front. "I write unto you, young men, because you are strong."

The greatest of opportunities are opening before you, and it is with infinite pride and joy that the college feels assured in advance of the service you are to render. The individualistic conception of life is fast disappearing. Your annual banquets are only one form of your public spirit. Your loyalty to this institution and to your class is only the first stage of that larger loyalty to your country and to mankind.

Accept my hearty congratulations on your annual

banquet. Each year as it passes gives life a deeper meaning and more earnest purpose, and brings the day nearer when, "instead of the fathers, shall be the children."

With heartiest wishes for the richest of blessings on the Class of '97.

AMHERST, *January, 1906.*

Will I write a few words to the Class of '97? What teacher in Amherst could persuade himself to forego the privilege?

These annual banquets awaken the happiest memories, and fill our hearts with pride as we recall the achievements of the '97 men. Yours was a banner class, and the standard you set for undergraduate work has imposed a severe task on the classes that followed. But the traditions you left behind you have been a power and an inspiration.

It is very good news we have to report from Alma Mater. The size of our Freshman class proves that the public have begun to appreciate work done here. How could it be otherwise when she has been sending out such splendid alumni! Ye are our advertisement, "read and known of all men."

The moral earthquake that wrought such an upheaval in the cities last fall and wrecked the political fortunes of "bosses" has been attended by secondary shock in the college world. In particular I refer to the discussion of football, the introduction of the honor system, and the regeneration of the Y. M. C. A. Last evening the Civic Club was organized with a membership of sixty from the Junior and Senior classes. Those best able to judge feel that in this number there is more than one Folk and Jerome in

embryo. The fires of patriotism are burning brightly here. The college men look out on a more inviting opportunity than was offered a few years ago. We have had our dog days of graft and commercialism, but the bracing tonic of a moral October atmosphere is beginning to be felt, and it means new life and power to four hundred and sixty of as fine undergraduates as can be found in any institution. You will not be ashamed of them when they get out and measure their abilities and honor with men from other colleges.

Next year we shall welcome you back to your decennial. What an epoch-making period these years cover. Where in the world's history can be found the equal? You have made good use of its opportunities. But where much is given much is required. All this is only a beginning. Your sun is still mounting upward. More than another decade must pass before it shall reach the meridian. If life's morning has been so fair, what will men expect for the splendor of "high noon"? What a record must "the long day" bequeath to satisfy those expectations you yourselves have created. But you will do it. We know you will and we are sure of your future and of the honor it will bring to the college. Heaven's richest blessings upon you.

With heartiest wishes and warmest congratulations.

AMHERST, *January 11, 1907.*

MY DEAR BLAKE:

We are anticipating your decennial reunion next June. Your banquet to-morrow must be largely a "read letter" night, but that occasion will be one of personal greeting, face to face. Your class sustains a peculiar relation to the college: five members are

children of the faculty; two others are now holding positions of importance here; the rest of you we have come to consider not so much former pupils as personal friends. Alma Mater will make next Commencement a real "Old Home Week" for your welcome, and will give you, we trust, the silver "Trophy Cup."

The ten years you have been away from us have brought great changes. As moral issues are forced more and more to the front in civic and national affairs, the public give larger attention to the institutions of learning. Even the Kaiser, in the midst of all his absorbing cares, finds time to negotiate with America an exchange of professors as a means of promoting national good will and mutual understanding. Recently the utterances of one of these lecturers attracted the attention of two continents, and received from the public press, for a brief time, more notice than even a football game or the financial transactions of the Steel Trust. That university professor was an Amherst graduate.

As social and industrial problems become more serious, nations discover that dangers to their peace are not to be expected mainly from abroad, but their foes are they of their own household. Against these enemies, protection of the public safety is not to be intrusted to standing armies, or the most recent battle-ships. The education and moral uplift of the masses can alone safeguard the future. Modern fortresses on the frontier of domestic progress are not built of masonry and earthworks; they are the institutions of learning, and the public press, the social settlements and civic leagues. This is the day of great opportunities for the college man.

Some of you have already made a fine record in

civic and public work, and given promise of larger service in the years to come. Our colleges are vying with each other in the men they can send into public life. In our fathers' day these institutions were called to give their bravest and their best to die for their country. Amherst has a large number on her roll of honor. But to-day the call comes for our ablest not to die, but to live for the nation and for humanity. In responding to this call, the honor of old Amherst is in the keeping of her young alumni. We rejoice in the thought that such a high trust is safe in your hands.

I beg you to give my heartiest greetings to your classmates, and to assure them of the large place they hold in our hearts, and of the pride we take in their splendid achievements.

TO THE CLASS OF 1898

AMHERST, *February* 18, 1899.

MY DEAR BLANCHARD:

I beg you to express to your classmates my heartiest congratulations on the occasion of their first annual banquet. It marks a long step of progress. Life begins to be more real, the responsibilities greater, the prizes more uncertain. It is our hope that this brings with it a revelation of power, that you are already beginning to look back on your college experience from a different point of view from that which you held when you passed through it. College days are fleeting because we value not them but the harvest they shall bring forth. "Except a grain of corn fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." Your future life will be first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear.

As you meet each other around the banquet table, and your memories recall college days as things of the past, you will discover in each other the springing of this new life which though inconspicuous at this early stage has in it the promise and potency of the rich harvest that is to appear later; some thirty, some sixty, some an hundred fold.

I beg you to assure your classmates of the keen interest which the college will ever feel in them, of the pride it will ever take in their unfolding, and when they reach the years of productive life, of the great joy with which the college will hear of their successive

achievements. The Class of '98 has in it splendid material and therefore it is under a larger obligation to the age and must accomplish greater things in order to fulfill its stewardship. But at the same time the opportunities for true service were never better, and the need of the world never greater. To be a young man with the traditions of a college course at Amherst to inspire you, with the fellowship of your classmates and the other Amherst alumni, and with the twentieth century just opening before you with all its possibilities for honest work and conquest, is a lot that would have made the Apostle John, who wrote to young men because they were strong, pronounce upon you his heartiest benediction, and offer for you an intercessory prayer like that which Christ offered for his disciples. In the spirit of the apostle, I give you my heartiest congratulations, and assure you of my best wishes for your future.

TO THE CLASS OF 1902

AMHERST, *January 28, 1903.*

MY DEAR KEITH:

You were very kind to ask me to send a word of greeting to the Class of 1902 on the occasion of their annual banquet.

Your class made a very large place for themselves in our hearts. We can never forget their splendid work and their delightful comradeship. Somehow Amherst has not seemed the same since you left us. It surely is not the same that it was before you came to spend your four years in our midst. The manly frankness, the high sense of honor and friendship, and the noble example of the Class of 1902 have lifted the standards of student life and thought and work to a higher level, and that influence still lasts. A thousand thanks for it. I beg you to give my hearty "God-speed" to each one as you meet them Saturday evening, and my congratulations, too, on being fairly launched on the voyage of active life. Too often it happens that the beginning of this voyage, like the first days out on the ocean, brings peculiar trials. It is no easy task to adjust yourself to the conditions of a new line of work, especially when one has to begin at the bottom. May your banquet be an inspiration, and may each take courage as he realizes that the eyes of all his classmates are still on him; that he is not fighting a lone battle for himself, but also one for the honor of "1902."

Every position has its hardships. Sooner or later into every life "some rain must fall." But these things are all on the outside. Your faith is not in luck but in yourselves. On one occasion a Frenchman, looking up a stranger who had been introduced to him, was informed that the young man was probably English. To this he replied, "I can discover nothing English about him but his French." It often happens that a young man beginning in a new position can find nothing hopeful in himself but his discouragement. But that should be something to cheer him. It shows that he has high ideals and is not satisfied with ordinary effort; that he has not yet reached port, but simply just started, and so the future is all before him; that he cannot rest now, but must and will progress. "Discouraged" does not mean to you what it might mean at life's close; nor what it did mean in other ages of civilization. I think of the first half of the nineteenth century as an "old man's world," namely, a time when tradition and authority were so firmly on the throne that a young man like Darwin or Huxley or Lincoln might well have shrunk from the battle ahead. But the last half of the nineteenth century with its marvelous development of business marks increasingly "a young man's world." New methods, new thought, new energy has been welcome and never more so than to-day. It is *your opportunity*. Make it a "college young man's world." Roosevelt has taken the first step. Say to him as he said to Riis, "I have come to help."

We know the spirit that is in you. We all have great faith in you. By and by the world will feel the same toward you. 'Nineteen-two have a glorious future before them. God bless you every one.

TO THE PHILADELPHIA ALUMNI

AMHERST, *November* 19, 1906.

MY DEAR DOW:

Your letter has just been received.

It encourages me greatly to feel that college men are beginning to realize the responsibilities for public welfare; to feel that it is not quite enough to work out their own salvation, that they must find time and strength for the duties of citizenship. Amherst has always been famous for its missionary spirit, but nowadays we do not have to go to China and India and Africa to find heathen. Every alumnus who is loyal to the spirit of Alma Mater finds himself called to be an Apostle to the Gentiles in his own city. It cheers our hearts greatly to hear them echoing the old cry, "Woe unto me if I preach not the gospel of civic obligation." In so doing they are following in the footsteps of those who have gone before and have left their mantle and their spirit for these young Elishas.

It seems to me that our country has seen nothing like the present crisis since the old days of the anti-slavery leaders. We are face to face with a realignment of the parties in politics; the millions of foreigners who have found their way to our shores and been admitted to citizenship are to have a large share in determining the policy of the future. Shall they be controlled by the boss and the party machine and the demagogue, or shall this crisis be to them a great school with college graduates for teachers, and the press for a text-

book. It is a tremendous task, but the American voter can be educated. He is deeply interested in the questions of the day. True, he jumps at conclusions and is carried off his feet by sophistries and specious appeals; but a real teacher is never discouraged by such things — all his classes begin that way. He does not expect a harvest in springtime. He knows if the weeds grow quickly and rankly it is because the soil is rich, and that good seed well cultivated will soon choke them out. It is a grand thing to live in our age — there is something to do worth the sacrifice it requires. No one is more alive to the perils than I, but no one has a firmer faith in the future. “I feel it in my bones.” I know the stuff our young college graduates are made of. When the steamship *Oregon* was making its trial trip, one of the naval officers said to the head of the firm that built it: “I pity you. You have done your work faithfully. Are you not afraid that some little accident, for instance, the breaking of a ten-cent bolt, will spoil your record and cost you thousands of dollars, for the amount you are to receive depends upon the speed you are to develop in this test?” To which the anxious builder replied, “What you say is possible, but the accidents will not occur, the bolts will not break, for I am acquainted with each one personally.” When we recall the splendid achievement of the *Oregon* at Santiago, we find in the statement of the builder the explanation. What was true of that ship is true of our alumni, and of the alumni of our leading colleges and universities. We know the material that is in them. We are personally acquainted with them individually. In the hour of trial they will not flinch or disappoint us, and their work shall accomplish for our country in this crisis

what the navy achieved in the Spanish War — a wonderful victory. Oh, it is a grand thing to have a part in such a fight! God bless them, every one of them!

I beg you to remember me to the Amherst men that you may meet at your banquet, and assure them of how much we appreciate the splendid work they are doing.

LAW AND SOCIOLOGY: TO F. B. DOW,
CLASS OF 1904

AMHERST, *February 22, 1905.*

MY DEAR MR. DOW:

You remember you raised your question as to the relationship of law as practiced in court and the principles of sociology as taught in our course. The principles of sociology are the truths concerning the fundamental constitution of human nature, just as physiology aims to get the laws concerning our physical system. Statute law, on the other hand, is a supplement to the common law which has grown up through many generations, and expresses the precedents and traditions of previous ages. Now, many factors enter here: first, brain paths or custom due to peculiarities of environment and inheritance; second, temperament; third, religion or traditional standards of right and wrong; fourth, utilitarianism or attempts at practical adjustment; fifth, legal fictions, postulates, which are necessary either to justify certain customs that seem necessary or that simplify and aid in a practical application certain fundamental conceptions that are conceded in legal practice. These legal fictions may be compared to certain algebraic fictions, such as a minus quantity when used to designate certain roots. Hence in law there are many flagrant contradictions, inconsistencies, often making a court of justice into a court of injustice. But back of it all is the human mind struggling to realize itself in prac-

tical life. Whatever mistakes and blunders it may make at any given time it has a tendency to correct these later on :

Right forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne ;
But that scaffold sways the future, and behind the dim unknown
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above His own.

The spiritual life of man is the incarnation of God in modern institutions, hence the evolution of righteousness in society, that is, man tending towards a science of law. Already our laws express much of the deeper consciousness of the race, otherwise they would command no respect. As the human being is not all spirit, but partly flesh, so human institutions are not all science, but partly tradition, custom. Again, as the human spirit gradually changes the physical features and makes them a mirror of itself, so the deeper consciousness of the community gradually changes its laws and institutions till they become a more perfect expression of science, of the spirit. As you follow a river to the sea, in places it will be flowing in almost any direction, but the great trend of its course is perfectly definite, and so it is with the trend of legal evolution. Life is extremely complex and questions have to be decided, not on their own merits, but vicariously, so that they will be precedents for other and very different occasions. Some one attribute they have in common, and the great problem is to so deal with the particular and individual as not to obscure and contradict that which is common to other cases. Finite wisdom is often inadequate to the task, and instead of untying it cuts the knot, makes a fetich of the common attribute and sacrifices the particular. Thus great injustice is done to the individual in order not to

wrong the class. Yet the class may be a legal fiction, and the individual the only actual entity. Thus we find an antagonism between the statute law, the letter, the Old Testament, and science, which is the spirit or New Testament. What, then, is our duty? As individuals, there is no doubt private conscience decides, but the action of the courts is the action of the community as a whole. Here all must move together, and therefore the fleet of foot must slow their pace. Science comes, not to destroy the law, but to fulfill, to put something better in its place, and this requires time.

I fear the above leaves many questions unanswered, but it indicates the general direction of inquiry and it teaches us patience with the formalism and technicalities of law and its slow progress.

I think the first experiences of a student studying law are rather more unfavorable than when he gets farther along and catches more of its spirit. We have only to ask what the world would be without it to realize what a tremendous achievement has been wrought out in bringing it to its present form. I trust you are enjoying your work, and the responsibilities of postgraduate life are bringing with them a consciousness of power and inspiration as you think of the future. . . . I sometimes think young men do not fully realize the privilege of living at the beginning of the twentieth century, when so many problems are pressing for solution, and of having a part and lot in such work — work that will endure for ages. It is like living in the time of the Apostles or Reformation. They are to be envied by those who shall be born in the next generation.

APPENDIX

TRIBUTES AND CHARACTERIZATIONS

PROFESSOR JOHN M. TYLER, AT THE MEMORIAL SERVICE,
FEBRUARY 12, 1907

AMHERST COLLEGE mourns the loss of a son of whom she was justly proud. Professor Garman was a man of wide and profound learning, of broad and accurate scholarship, a keen student of psychology, a wise philosopher. But we, his pupils and colleagues, mourn his loss because every one of us has lost a friend and helper.

He had a passion for truth. He sought it eagerly as a man digs for hid treasure. He sought it in all places and at all times. When he was a student in college, few of us knew when his lamp went out at night, or was relighted in the morning. In this pursuit he never flagged. He was no mere amasser of facts and theories. He was eager for truth which would mould, discipline, and strengthen the mind, kindle the heart, upbuild character, and inspire to a grand life. He sought especially those moral and religious ideas the vision of which is wisdom.

Every vision and ideal was to him a promise which he wished his pupils to see afar off, to be persuaded of, and to embrace; and thus to become heroes of Faith in the best sense of that much abused word.

His passion for truth, his wide and profound learning, his clearness and brilliancy of thought and expression, his keen and kindly wit, his insight into the state and working of his pupils' minds, his appreciation of all their difficulties and misunderstandings, his marvelous power of illustration and illumination, his sound logic, his inexhaustible patience and sympathy,

—all these combined to make him a prince of teachers. He never dimmed the truth by breathing on it.

But he loved his pupils too well to leave them contented with a hasty glimpse of his own grand ideals. He recognized that, if they were to see that divine beauty which Plato has called the splendor of truth, every one of them must attain, see, and realize for himself his own vision. This was the purpose of his teaching; this was his life. His aim, as he said, was to develop “not disciples but apostles.” He had a profound reverence for the independence and individuality of every human mind. This was the problem which filled his thoughts for twenty-five years of service. For this he worked unremittingly and unsparingly, and gave himself prodigally. His pupils knew that his time and strength were at their service without measure or limit, and that his weariness and exhaustion would all be forgotten whenever they asked his help.

There are things about which we must keep silence. But mere justice demands that we recognize the debt of gratitude which we all owe to his wife, who shared his burden and labor, and whose constant care and devotion alone saved him for us, and enabled him to help us through all these years.

Professor Garman was not a man of strong health when he came to us. For twenty-five years he has freely and continuously given us his time and strength, his thought and sympathy, day by day and year by year. He exhausted his health and strength in our service until he who had always helped others was past helping. He gave us something better than his life-blood. Surely no life could be more nobly used or wisely invested. He lives in his pupils. No one needs ask us why we loved him. The end came far too soon. It could not be otherwise. But was it the end, or is it the beginning of the unfolding of all those marvelous powers and attainments?

Do you remember in *Pilgrim's Progress* how Mr. Valiant-for-Truth went over the river and "all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side"? His last words were: "My sword I give to him that shall succeed me in my pilgrimage, and my courage and skill to him that can get it. My marks and scars I carry with me, to be a witness for me, that I have fought His battles, who now will be my rewarder."

He has fallen in the harness as a man should fall. He has won his right to the tree of life, and has entered on his shield into the one city which has foundations and into the joy of his Lord. We dare not grudge him his rest and higher service. He has left us a message contained in the answer to a letter of inquiry by President Hall concerning his aims and methods in teaching. He says: "The great need of our students, from a practical point of view, is an ideal; the great danger is that they will become visionary. I show them that an ideal is like the north star which the colored slave would follow, not with the expectation of ever reaching the star, but under the hope that by following it he might better his condition. I bring in the laws of the unfolding of the life of the individual and of the community. . . . Without this discussion the men would at first be idealists and visionary, and then get discouraged and wonder whether their college course had not been too optimistic, and whether finite beings are not powerless to hasten the evolution of the race. This will lead to hope, and lessen their indifference as citizens."

So he bids us struggle toward our ideals, to follow the star which we may never overtake, until it leads us to that perfect liberty which consists in "perfect obedience to perfect law," and in unswerving loyalty to his and our Leader and King.

PRESIDENT GEORGE HARRIS, IN THE AMHERST STUDENT

Professor Garman has completed a great work, the greatest work of making other lives strong and true. For twenty-five years at Amherst he has raised the chair of philosophy to a throne of power. Last summer, while he was in the midst of his notable service, public recognition of his intellectual and spiritual guidance was eagerly accorded by former pupils now professors in universities and colleges, and realized by all the twenty-five generations of students who have sat at the feet of the master. We are glad this tribute was paid in his lifetime. His response was that of the modest teacher emphasizing his own indebtedness to others.

His greatness consisted in opening the minds of students to the truth and in bringing their lives under the power of it. He led them along a way in which each step, as it was taken, seemed to be their own, and every step on solid ground.

Most remarkable was his power over all who heard him, not merely alert and thoughtful minds, but those who were most external in their interests. These he could turn in upon themselves, quickening the inner man. He was unique in this respect of bringing men under high ideals. He taught, not only in the class room, but also in the closet. Almost every student found the way to his house, where Professor Garman gave hour upon hour with patience and interest to one man, to any man, conversing on high themes of the intellect and spirit. The alumni, returning to Amherst, visited the master to renew the mighty inspiration.

It has been remarked that Professor Garman published nothing, and that there is little to show but his remembered teaching. Probably the limitation of health kept him from writing. All his strength had to go into teaching. Yet this may have been by pre-

ference. And who will say that influence going into life is less than influence of the written page without the living personality? A great spiritual philosopher said nearly two thousand years ago, "Ye are our epistles read of all men, written not with ink, but with the spirit of the living God, not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart."

Professor Garman was always in advance, a prophet, knowing the development of the social order, matching ideas and motives to the changing conditions of the people. Until ten years ago he directed many young men into the Christian ministry, thinking it the best opportunity of service. Later, while exalting that sacred function no less, he saw the opportunity of other professions, of business, and of public office, for promoting the welfare of men, yet always through the spiritual using the material. His outlook was that of a sane and sober optimist. I cannot attempt to characterize him fully; yet I must pay my personal tribute to his great capacity for friendship, expressing itself in thoughtful encouragement, — what he did for me is beyond words to convey.

For several years he was on the border between health and illness, often very ill, and apprehensive at all times of that which has now occurred, yet working on all the more bravely, a signal instance of the triumph of mind and spirit over body.

He exemplified the Amherst spirit — the spirit of faith, of loyalty, of service to men, of love of the truth.

Amherst has a great tradition in philosophy. President Seelye for many years, while he was professor, opened the inner light of all our seeing in the intentions of the mind, and made his chair and the college famous.

Professor Garman succeeded him, and, in his own way, abreast of modern thought in psychology and insight, shed clear, broad lights on the problems of the

times. He is rightly regarded as one of the very foremost and noblest teachers of philosophy. May the tradition be preserved in a worthy successor. And may we reflect the optimistic manhood, and be animated by the courage of the great leader whose works do follow him.

PRESIDENT G. STANLEY HALL OF CLARK UNIVERSITY, IN
THE AMHERST STUDENT

As a teacher of philosophical subjects, I believe Professor Garman should rank in our day as Mark Hopkins did in his. Both were uniquely effective and masterly as teachers, and both mutually yearned for the mental and spiritual welfare of their students, and both sought to lay solid and deep foundations upon which not only any, however great, intellectual superstructure could be safely reared, but also desired to make philosophy indeed the guide of life and the basis of good character and citizenship. The age in which Professor Garman wrought was far more advanced, the problems more difficult, and his own scholarship was vastly larger. I cannot think of any one in the country who could fill his place. Next to personal grief and profound regret for the loss that higher education has suffered by his death, my greatest solicitude is that the world be given, and that speedily, the benefit of the publication of his system. His remarkable pedagogic instinct made him feel profoundly the difference between the philosophy needed by college men and the development of a finished system which should appeal to experts. I always felt that his reluctance to make known his methods was based upon the conviction I believe, alas, only too true, that most of his fellow-teachers in his field would not do justice to this discrimination. I profoundly hope that neither the condition of his notes, most of which I understand were already privately printed, nor any

expression left by him, will prevent their being speedily placed in the hands of some judicious, sympathetic and able professor of philosophy, who should also be a student of his, and that they will soon be printed.

HOWARD A. BRIDGMAN OF THE CLASS OF 1883, IN THE
CONGREGATIONALIST, FEBRUARY 16, 1906

Amherst graduates in every clime connected with the college since 1881 will learn with deep sorrow of the death last Saturday morning of Charles E. Garman, professor of moral philosophy and metaphysics. Only one or two other men now on the faculty are so endeared to Amherst graduates. There was an atmosphere of serenity and quiet dignity about his person that made his students feel themselves to be in the presence of a rare and lofty spirit, yet withal "Not too bright and good for human nature's daily food." That spirit inhabited a frail body, and he has done his great work despite the handicap of constant weakness; but he burned his smoke, and few who knew him casually and saw only the erect carriage and the gracious smile realized what a battle it was for him to fulfill the tasks of every day.

His great service to Amherst has been the lifting of the department of philosophy to a commanding place. He did not write much for general publication, but preferred to leave his mark upon the minds and lives of his students, and Amherst men, as they have been going in a steady stream for the last score of years to the Divinity, Law, and Medical Schools, and out into active life, have many of them borne the impress of Professor Garman's moulding hand. He delved to the roots of things, and his frank and thorough recognition of the contention of the agnostic and the infidel, his even justice toward differing theories, often made the atmosphere of his class room electric, and always stimulating. Men who would not take time to think

things through, who preferred old paths to new, were sometimes confused; but they who followed the course of his thinking, and committed themselves heartily to his methods, came, ere the college years ended, into the larger light.

The end always in view was equipment for life, by leading men to see the fixed stars in the heavens, and by enabling them to realize that they were citizens of the universal kingdom of truth. He would make his pupils independent investigators, and yet, those who understood him best realized that resolute pursuit of lines of thinking which he marked out would bring one to certainty.

A special charm was his apt use of illustrations and analogies. Dr. Zebb and the French Academy, the oak leaves yielding not to the blasts of winter but to the touch of spring, — these and other favorite illustrations became as it were classics and brightened the recitation hour for successive classes. Few teachers of philosophy, in our time, have related their department with such increasing emphasis to the great social problems of our time. As the students returned to their reunions from the pressure of business and professional life, they realized in the delightful little addresses he sometimes gave them and in the closer companionship of his charming home, that Professor Garman was awake to the stern, practical issues of modern life and was seeking not merely to make his pupils exact thinkers but wise and valiant workers in a world that needs the poise as well as the activity of the liberally educated man.

Though a doctor of divinity, Professor Garman seldom occupied the college pulpit, but some of us remember short courses of Bible study with him, that revealed the simplicity and depth of his religious life. The supreme importance of the Christlike character, the building of that character on the personal relation to the Master, — these truths taught quietly without

a particle of cant, glow again before me in the retrospect of nearly a quarter of a century. And at the ends of the earth to-day are men who will gladly testify that they owe to Professor Garman no small share of whatever power they possess to-day to think honestly and to live according to the religion of Jesus.

Thankful are we that he survived long enough to know how profoundly and widely he was respected, to receive at the Commencement last June one of the highest tributes that can be paid a teacher, a commemorative volume including studies in philosophy and psychology by thirteen of his former students, and to be proffered tokens from time to time of the respect of eminent fellow-workers in the department of philosophy.

HOWARD A. BRIDGMAN OF THE CLASS OF 1883, IN THE
BOSTON TRANSCRIPT

Had not the character of the illness which ended his life a week ago to-day made it desirable that the funeral should be private, there would have been at Amherst last Tuesday a signal demonstration of the honor in which hundreds of graduates held Dr. Charles E. Garman. They would have come back from the east and the west, the north and the south and sat down together once more in the old college chapel to think over quietly the years they spent close to him and how and why he influenced them. Denied this privilege of paying a last tribute of affection to the beloved dead, they have, as they met one another the past week, spoken no perfunctory words of remembrance, but the sincere sorrow of their hearts. It will be long before they will adjust themselves to the thought of Amherst College without Garman, for he has been a burning and shining lamp there for more than a quarter of a century, and lit the way for others out into many a dark and lonely corner of the earth.

Other men on the Amherst faculty during this quarter of a century have gripped the affections of the fellows, but none in just the way that Garman did. He almost never happened around at the winter alumni meetings in the cities to hobnob with the boys. He was never associated with their memories of the ball field, the gymnasium, and the hop in the society house. His strength sufficed only for the substantial of college life and not for its frills, and so Garman and his class room were seldom dis severed in the memories of the "old grads." And as the years went on they did not dim the picture of that straight, tall figure clad in ministerial black, and that dark, smooth-shaven, mobile face whose lustrous eyes looked straight at men and sometimes straight through them.

The power of Garman was due to the fine blending of the intellectual and spiritual elements in his character. The size of a professor's brain still determines to a large degree even the modern collegian's admiration for him. When students entered Garman's class room at the beginning of Senior year or, as more recently, at the beginning of Junior year, they soon felt that they had crossed the threshold into a new domain of thought and that a master of that domain was present to aid them freely in their quest for treasure. Mathematics, languages, literature — they already had gained at least a smattering of them; but what was this new world called psychology and philosophy? Bewildering, unreal as it might seem at first, there was a steady hand to guide them if they would but take it.

So many a student entered that recitation room as a raw, careless lad and emerged at the end of a year a man sobered, steadied, inspired for life. He had tasted the exquisite joy of learning to think for himself. He had learned to think a thing through; to look at life steadily, and to look at the whole of life.

And how did Garman accomplish all this? First,

by hewing always to the straight line of truth. The difficulties, for example, in the way of a theistic philosophy of the universe were not simply stated and then a hurried detour around them improvised, but they were set forth fully, deliberately, almost sympathetically. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst once amused a New York alumni gathering by telling of a boy in his own congregation back from college for his Christmas vacation.

Interrogating him as to how he liked Garman's courses, this reply was received: "Well, Garman has taken a good part of the fall term to state the argument for agnosticism, but next term he says he is going to refute it. But what is bothering me just now is what will become of me if I should die, not having had next term's course." One did need the whole year with Garman to grasp his viewpoint and to understand his methods. There was now and then a man also who, coming from college with a traditional but never reasoned out system of belief, revolted at first from some things he heard in the class room. I recall one such fellow — and a rather sporty youth from Boston he was — who came back to the fraternity house after recitation one day, thoroughly disgusted with what he called "Garman's God." He had grown up accustomed to think of God as apart from His universe, yet interfering with its workings every little while. It was hard for him to take in the idea of a God pervading His world, sparing of miracle, respecting His own laws. But there were other men — and not a few of them of the lively type — who were thrilled and fascinated by Garman's fair, candid, generous presentations of all the sides of a great question, and they were patient enough to wait until the outlines of the fair temple of truth began to appear.

I suspect that Professor Garman was a good deal of a grind when an Amherst student himself. That was the tradition in my day, and on one memorable

occasion it was confirmed by no less an authority than President Seelye. A committee of us representing the class was interceding with him for a large number of members in danger of expulsion for some misdemeanor.

President Seelye met our pleas for mercy thus: "Why were your classmates so foolish? Look at your Professor Garman. When he was in college, if there happened to be a fire on the campus, Garman was n't there; if there was a tin-horn procession, Garman was n't in it. Where was he? Up in East College studying!" Well was it for the future of the department of philosophy in Amherst that that boy from a New England home was studying while others frolicked, and that that collegiate course was supplemented by professional training at Yale and elsewhere, and that all his life he was a student. It was this passion for study that made him bear down once in a while, in his courtly way, upon the loafer and the shirk. Once a boy in his recitation was slyly preparing for a Greek recitation the next hour. The eagle eye of the professor detected the dual rôle. "This is the class in moral philosophy, Mr. Jones," said Professor Garman as quietly and as blandly as he would have uttered some commonplace about the weather. But the Homer was straightway closed, and never came open in that class room.

This grace of humor, this salt of speech, not only helped to make his courses popular but, joined with a marvelous gift of illustration, lighted up powerfully the abstract theme with which he constantly dealt. More than that, they gave the touch of completeness to his character. Without them, he would have been the star that dwelt apart. Possessed of them, he became akin to those whom he taught, perhaps not quite an elder brother, but a real friend, a wise counselor, a sympathetic fellow worker, yet always just a degree removed, because so much more familiar than the

rest of us with the higher altitudes of faith and vision.

There will be memorial services for Professor Garman, and doubtless a shining shaft of marble somewhere on the New England countryside, which he loved so well. But his real monument will be the men scattered over the earth who learned from him the meaning of life. Some of them — in chairs of philosophy at Smith, Chicago, and other institutions — are passing on to their own classes much of what he contributed to them. But most of Garman's men belong to the great army of the rank and file, and as they toil on in the routine work of the professions or of business they now and again bless God that, in the plastic days of youth, their lives were touched to nobler issues by the strong and tender hand of Charles E. Garman.

EDMUND B. DELABARRE OF THE CLASS OF 1886, IN THE
AMHERST STUDENT

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMHERST STUDENT:

Dear Sir, — You ask of me a service which I undertake both gladly and sorrowfully, with a consciousness of my utter inability to accomplish it in a manner worthy of the man to whom it is a tribute. I can speak of the affection and reverence which I have felt towards him, of my appreciation of his greatness and nobility and power, of the wonderful extent and helpfulness of his influence, of the irreparable loss which Amherst will suffer from his absence. But I cannot do it in such a way as to approach an adequate expression of my own feelings, or to do fitting tribute to his strength and worth.

It is no exaggeration to say that Professor Garman was one of the greatest of men. It is not alone in politics and war, in leadership and organization, in industry and wealth, that greatness manifests itself.

Not alone those who make themselves worthily prominent in the eyes of their fellow-men are great. He who with earnest labor and clear vision seeks for truth, and who with untiring zeal and effective method helps others to grasp it and make it a living force, may be among the first in directing the steps of our race in its slow upward progress; and in doing that alone lies true greatness. Professor Garman's service in this respect was of the highest order. He had a clear mind and broad comprehension; he had a keen ability to recognize the highest and worthiest among conflicting ideals; and he was never weary in exercising these powers and in thus constantly increasing the breadth and depth and helpfulness of his knowledge. But his greatest genius lay in his power of imparting his knowledge and his ideals to others and of arousing in them a reflex of his own enthusiasm for them. I do not suppose that there has ever been a more faithful and inspiring and effective teacher; and hundreds of those who have had the good fortune to sit in the class room will join me in this opinion. No one better than he could pour forth the deep convictions of his soul and make them enter into others and stay there and grow and bear fruit, and become active and helpful forces in their lives. Every one of his students is following higher ideals and living a better, more intelligent, and more satisfying life because of having studied under him.

The Amherst of to-day is more than all else the Amherst of Garman. And it will probably never have another Garman. His successors must work out their own individualities, pursue other methods, seek to know and to teach the ideals of knowledge and of conduct in their own personal ways. But Garman himself will truly remain. His work is not done. His genius and his nobility of character will live to bless the generations of Amherst students yet to come. Amherst has not lost him. He lifted the college to a

higher plane; and though he can no longer help it by his bodily presence, yet there the college will remain, and it will be largely the living spirit of Garman that will be of influence in maintaining it there, and in raising it to still higher levels of truth, of conduct, and of usefulness.

ARTHUR H. PIERCE OF THE CLASS OF 1888, IN THE
SPRINGFIELD REPUBLICAN

Few teachers of philosophy have reached the distinction of being widely known and honored outside the limits of their own institution through the medium of verbal report rather than through the more permanent record of the printed word. It was just this distinction which Professor Garman long since achieved. It has long been impossible for an Amherst man to come into the company of professional philosophers and psychologists without being sooner or later confronted with searching questions about the methods of teaching philosophy at Amherst. Every one knew that there was something unique about them. Every one knew that philosophy somehow took hold upon Amherst men in a way that indicated unmistakably the influence of an unusual teacher. The outsider wished to know the method, to learn the secret of this unwonted enthusiasm which so often elsewhere belongs to the specialist alone. Many a time, I am sure, has this Amherst method of teaching philosophy been described, but often with scant enlightenment to the questioner. For, as is so often the case, the method and the man were not to be separated, and no amount of information about the former could furnish another teacher with the ready-made means of enhancing his own success.

Whatever the numerous students of Professor Garman may individually owe to his teaching, I am sure that we shall all agree that two things stand out pre-

eminently in our estimate of it. In the first place, the student was quickly led to see that philosophy is a tremendously serious business, — not serious in the sense too often attached to it, of being something remote and well-nigh incomprehensible, to be pursued only in seclusion and with mind withdrawn from the distracting clatter of the world, but in the sense of being the essential and vitally necessary medium for shaping one's course if one wished for real efficiency as a man and as a citizen. It was just this attitude towards philosophy which Professor Garman's teaching imparted. And so powerfully was this imparted that few bands of students have ever sought so eagerly for solutions to the riddles of the universe as those who gathered day after day in that well-known room in Walker Hall. The problems raised were eminently of a practical nature. There was never any splitting of hairs on purely theoretic issues. The issues were living. The student felt that they must be solved if he were to go out into the world of action with any confidence and serenity of mind. Few teachers of philosophy have been so successful as Professor Garman in entering sympathetically into the minds of their students, bringing to light the problems which were already present there as vague questionings, and implanting in a deftly prepared soil the further issues which the student must face before he could be free from the trammels of the delusions and half-truths brought with him to his upper college years. Formerly it was the religious beliefs of the Amherst student that furnished the starting-point for philosophic criticism and reconstruction. But in later years it has been rather the student's natural interest in the industrial and commercial aspects of life that has furnished the chief stepping-stone from the low levels of uncritically accepted beliefs to the higher standpoint of a sound social philosophy.

But a second trait of Professor Garman's teaching

is perhaps no less to be emphasized. To his own mind, I have heard him say more than once, it was not so much the definite solution to a problem that was the great end in view as the equipment of the student with a method of thought by which any and all problems could be confidently attacked. To bring his students to an intellectual plane where they were in possession of an ineradicable conviction that the processes of thought, if rightly used, could be made to yield them the truth, was, I believe, one of Professor Garman's most cherished ambitions. To teach a student how to weigh evidence and to arouse in him the conviction that he could do his own independent weighing and that truth's ultimate appeal lay in his own mind, — these were the constant endeavors of the class room and the private conversation. And so successful were these efforts that whatever burden of doctrine the Amherst student of philosophy may have carried away with his diploma, he at least carried away with him the dignified assurance that he possessed the efficient instrument of a sound philosophic method with which to meet the perplexities of whatever kind of life he might be called upon to lead. This, I believe, is one of the crowning achievements of Professor Garman's work.

A distinctive feature of Professor Garman's teaching was his extraordinarily facile use of illustration. No one of his students will ever forget the brilliancy and aptness of his figures. Though at times the slower student was confused and bewildered by these and found himself recalling the analogy rather than the truth illustrated, the vigor and vividness of presentation that resulted from the use of this method produced remarkable results in the minds of most of his hearers. Visitors to Professor Garman's classes were extremely few. The outsider, curious to get a glimpse of the ways of this man who could so wield philosophy as to stir the student soul to its very depths, was not made welcome. In Professor Garman's

opinion, a stranger tended to introduce a disturbing element into the atmosphere, and his presence tended to make it seem that philosophy and its methods were on exhibition, a situation that Professor Garman abhorred as subversive of the aim that he was attempting to accomplish. If sometimes this attitude, together with some of the devices which were integral parts of Professor Garman's method, seemed too esoteric to comport well with the modern teaching of philosophy, sufficient justification was felt to exist in the fact that thereby the student was made to feel that he was on sacred ground at the very portals of the inner shrine of truth.

Though repeatedly urged to write and publish in order that the larger world of students of philosophy might get the benefit of his views and methods of thought, Professor Garman has always hesitated to withdraw even the smallest portion of his energies from the work of the class room. As he read his calling, it was to give his fullest service unremittingly to the student who sat in his presence. And whether it were in the class room, or at his home, where the perplexed student went freely and with cordial welcome for aid in his personal thinking, there was that extraordinarily generous and unrestrained expending of both time and energy which gave evidence of the complete devotion of the teacher to the philosophic needs of his students. No one who has felt the influence of such a teacher could wish for a moment that a portion of his energies had been diverted to the business of publication.

Though Professor Garman had a very definite philosophy of his own which grew from year to year, and which he communicated with rare clearness to his classes, it can be said, I think, that he left with them permanently not so much a doctrine as that rarer and more precious gift, a philosophic temper, with its ever-present spirit of inquiry and its love for philosophy as

the path to truth. Those of us who have taken up the professional teaching of those subjects into which we were initiated in Professor Garman's class room are probably unable to call ourselves his disciples in the sense that we are still holding to and teaching the special doctrines that we there received, but we are all proud to boast ourselves his disciples in so far as we are trying to emulate his philosophic spirit, which found expression in the courageous and patient and self-sacrificing pursuit of truth.

FREDERICK J. E. WOODBRIDGE OF THE CLASS OF 1889, IN
THE AMHERST STUDENT

Professor Garman was one of those philosophers who believe that philosophy itself is not only a body of doctrine, but also a personal discipline. He insisted on the importance of correct opinions, but he insisted, with even greater stress, on the importance of the habit of forming correct opinions. To promote this habit in his students was his chief aim as a teacher. Who of those privileged to attend his courses does not remember among his many illuminating illustrations that one drawn from the importance of a knowledge of the points of the compass for one lost in a forest? Simple as all his illustrations were, they served to drive home his own deep conviction that method and thoroughness in thinking can be trusted implicitly, as the lost man trusts the compass. Thus his students tended to become, not dogmatists in matters of opinion, but men of profound intellectual confidence. His own solutions of difficult problems may not have been always understood, they may not have been always satisfactory, but he never failed to leave the impression that clear and satisfactory solutions wait on persistent thinking. Intellectual despair was unknown in the room where he taught. For many of us it has been banished forever. Amid the

increasing complexities of life and its puzzles, we may still believe that, compass in hand, we can go forward.

We were not encouraged, however, to entertain a shallow optimism. The seriousness of life was also taught, but taught in a wonderful way which left youth still in possession of its glories and enthusiasms. Lessons in philosophy were turned into intellectual experiences where one's ordinary convictions were put to the test. We were thus led to appreciate the relative importance of different ideals, and to learn how readily the easy and obvious lead to the profound. This tended to beget the habit of thinking of the details of life — of college life, too, in all its variety of interest — in the light of the broadest vision attainable. Such intellectual experiences Professor Garman believed to be of the greatest importance for young men during the sheltered and irresponsible years they spend in college. "I feel," as he wrote to President Hall, "that the student who has been through these doubts and worked them out for himself has learned the strength and at the same time the limitations of the finite, and that he will have a degree of courage and patience in adversity, a degree of self-reliance and humility which others can secure only by those peculiar experiences which occasionally occur in actual business or politics or the professional life. The student who has taken philosophy realizes how the part is to be estimated in the light of the whole, he realizes this more completely than he could from any other study." Thus it was not a system of metaphysics which Professor Garman taught, but a genuine method for the conduct of the human understanding.

Because he tested our abilities to the uttermost we respected him. Because he insisted on independence in our judgment we trusted him. Because he trusted us and believed in us we loved him.

AMHERST'S COURSE IN PHILOSOPHY, BY F. J. E. WOODBRIDGE
OF THE CLASS OF 1889, IN THE NEW YORK EVENING POST

Although Professor Garman did not contribute to the literature of philosophy, and although he did not create a school whose members should champion his opinions, he was none the less widely known as a profound teacher who made philosophy a matter of vital interest to young men. Students of the subject came to recognize that the Amherst course in philosophy, which could pride itself on no significant publications, was yet a definite contribution to philosophical progress in America. Nor was the significant influence of the course illustrated only in those Amherst graduates who made the study of philosophy or psychology their life's work. It was illustrated in Professor Garman's students generally, binding them together in a kind of intellectual fellowship and, at times, moral seriousness which indicated that the course itself was an educational experience of the highest order. Indeed, those most familiar with it think far less of the information it imparted than they do of the intellectual and moral discipline it supplied. The course thus won recognition, not only among philosophers, but among those interested in the theory and practice of education as well. It could point to an educational success of marked importance. The secret of this success lay undoubtedly in Professor Garman's genius as a teacher, yet one may trace the operations of this genius in Professor Garman's attitude toward philosophy and in the methods of instruction he employed.

It is significant that Professor Garman took up the teaching of philosophy, not primarily because of his interest in philosophical problems, but because of his belief that it afforded an exceptional educational opportunity. In a letter to President Hall, published originally in the *American Journal of Psychology* for

1898, and republished in the *Studies in Philosophy and Psychology*, he writes:

"It is my conviction that a young man can obtain inspiration, enthusiasm, absence of self-consciousness only by the steady contemplation of great truths; that if he is wholly absorbed in imitation, he is like a person whose whole work is that of a proofreader; if he is successful, he is taken as a matter of course, and he gets no credit; if he is unsuccessful and makes mistakes, he is awkward; he is ridiculed beyond endurance; he soon realizes that the most promising rewards for the most careful efforts are negative, and he soon becomes indifferent, and is simply goaded on from fear of the consequences of failure. But the young man who philosophizes, who really understands himself and appreciates the truth, is no longer a slave of form, but is filled with admiration that is genuine and lasting."

And again: "I have found that somehow students' minds would be satisfied with nothing less than these most difficult problems. I did not awaken enthusiasm or gratitude until these were mastered, and so I have come to the conclusion that there is something in these subjects which the mind demands at this stage of the young men's development." Any other subject which in his opinion would have secured these ends would have equally called forth his energy and enthusiasm.

His methods were those calculated to produce intellectual confidence and moral seriousness. What he asked of his students was not recitations, but estimates of what they had studied. He stated problems, but looked to them for the solutions. The problems were always made vital and personal, they were never abstract. Lessons in philosophy were turned into intellectual experiences, where one's ordinary opinions were crucially tested, and one was led to appreciate the prime importance of the ability to weigh evidence

even in the details of life. Then various human ideals were set forth and the demand was made to estimate them in their relative value. Such intellectual experiences as these exercises provided, Professor Garman believed to be of the greatest importance for young men in the happy and irresponsible years of college life.

While Professor Garman thus led his students to appreciate the vast importance of correct opinions, he led them to appreciate that the habit of forming correct opinions was even of greater importance. To promote this habit in his students was his chief aim as a teacher. They were led from easy problems where they could appreciate the importance of sound intellectual method to a confidence in that method when problems were difficult and solutions baffling. He was so skillful in promoting the belief that clear and satisfactory solutions wait on persistent thinking that intellectual despair was unknown in his class room. Few of his students carried from that room a completed philosophy, few had ready solutions for the problems of life, but few also left it without having learned the lesson of the importance of method, of intelligent opinions, of weighing evidence, and of confidence in a sane intellect. Many of them have forgotten the content of his philosophy, but probably not one of them has forgotten the intellectual experience he enjoyed and profited by. Indeed, it was not a system of metaphysics which Professor Garman taught, but a genuine method for the conduct of the human understanding.

WILLIAM L. RAUB OF THE CLASS OF 1893, IN THE AMHERST
LITERARY MONTHLY, JUNE, 1906

In Professor Garman's life and work, the teacher, the philosopher, and the man were inseparable factors. His character manifested itself in his philosophy and his methods of teaching, and was in turn the concrete

expression of those methods and of the great truths which he believed and taught. He was himself the best illustration of that intimate relation between philosophy and life which he emphasized so unceasingly in his class room.

To his work as a teacher Professor Garman brought a rare physical and mental endowment. His strong constitution and great physical strength enabled him, as a student and in the early years of his teaching, to work far beyond the ordinary limits, and in his later life to maintain his class-room work under the heavy handicap of continued ill health. His intellectual powers were manifested in his accurate memory and his mastery of both analysis and synthesis, of both criticism and constructive thinking. His wide range of general knowledge furnished the material which he used so effectively in the illustrations of the class room, while his mastery of the subjects included in his own department gave him an intimate knowledge of psychology and pedagogy, and enabled him to adapt himself so skillfully to the varying conditions of the student mind. To all this were added a genial nature, broad sympathies, and a keen sense of humor.

The general aim and method of his teaching are fully stated in his letter to President Hall. He believed that the main aim of a college should be to make men, and that this ideal could be realized only by bringing the student into those conditions in which intellectual and moral manhood are developed. This method he carried out in his own work. He strove to bring the student to an appreciation of the difference between mythology and truth, to awaken in him the desire to know truth, and to develop in him the ability to weigh evidence and to reach decisions by the use of his own judgment. To accomplish this he brought the student face to face with the great problems of life, and forced him to think for himself. The dangers of this process were many, and Professor Garman clearly understood

them. They were minimized by his skill in so arranging the work that the student's growth in power kept pace, as a rule, with the increasing difficulty of the problems that were presented. But the irreducible and unavoidable danger was, he believed, the necessary accompaniment of the possibility of development. The parable of the talents is applicable to the problems of intellectual growth.

While it is true that he emphasized methods rather than results, this was not because he was indifferent to the conclusions which the student might reach. It was rather because he believed that, if the methods were correct, the results would be also, and that it was more important that the teacher should develop in the student a correct method by which any problem might be attacked than that he should attempt simply to give the student satisfactory answers to a few problems. During a large part of his teaching, at least, he did attempt to bring his students to the final solution of one problem — the nature of reality — and to aid them in applying this solution to many of the concrete problems in the spheres of science, ethics, and religion. In his letter to President Hall he says, "Hence I cannot let them go until I hold out before them the ideal of a spiritual life, and then make such a practical application as will enable them to understand the evolution of religion, . . . I bring in the laws of the unfolding of the individual and of the community, until the men discover that the great question of human history is not so much 'where we are' as 'whither we are drifting,' and that time is required for all progress."

In the position to which he endeavored to bring the student as a result of the investigation of the technical problem of reality he did not claim for himself any originality. He considered himself a Neo-Hegelian, and often said to his class that he was teaching them simply the general results of German philosophy, and

that whatever originality there was in the work was in the process by which he brought them to the conclusions. While this was true at least of the answer to the problem of reality, his course included far more than the discussion of the technical questions of metaphysics. He considered that it was impossible to teach philosophy without carrying it over into ethics and religion, and that the great problems in these spheres could be adequately answered only from the point of view gained in the metaphysical investigation. It was in this interpretation of life in terms of philosophy that he manifested in the highest degree his originality as a thinker, and gave to his students their deepest inspirations for concrete living.

During the major part of his teaching he placed the main emphasis in his course upon the rigorous investigation of the problem of reality. He brought the student to the solution of this problem through the thorough investigation of the problem of knowledge, enabling him to decide between a spiritual and a materialistic view of the world by aiding him in the discovery of the standard of truth. This "attaining to citizenship in the kingdom of truth" often had a profound influence upon the religious life of the student. In the later years the changing interests of the student body caused Professor Garman to reconstruct his course, to lead the student to the same general conclusions, but with a greater emphasis on the social and economic problems of the day, and possibly by a less rigorous process. It may be significant that the students whom he inspired to make the teaching of philosophy their life work were all in the classes of the earlier period.

Through a masterly interpretation of the deeper significance of the Kantian philosophy he led the student to the appreciation of the ethical ideal as the realization of a rational universe. The culmination of his course was the enunciation of the law of service as

the ideal for both human and divine action, and the interpretation of the essential elements of Christianity as the historical manifestation of that law and as the adequate solution of the problem of evil. To him philosophy was a search for truth about God, and as the result of that search he conceived God not merely as the ultimate being of the universe, but also as a person, and a sovereign to whom he was accountable.

Professor Garman considered it his mission to teach this system of philosophy, and his own life was an adequate exemplification of his doctrine.

ALFRED E. STEARNS OF THE CLASS OF 1894, IN THE
AMHERST STUDENT

The loss sustained by Amherst men in the death of Professor Charles E. Garman is too great to be measured. To him hundreds of Amherst men owe the best inspiration of their lives. Those who have enjoyed the privilege of sitting as disciples at his feet realize as none others can what a rare privilege has been theirs. He taught us the beauty of truth. Through him the spiritual world was brought near and its glory revealed. He made us feel the presence of the Divine within us, and he stirred as few men have been able to do within the hearts of his pupils the desire to serve. The wonderful influence he exerted over the minds and lives of his students was unique in the educational world. Sluggish minds were stimulated to activity; careless minds were taught the value of accuracy; indifference was changed to eager desire. To many an Amherst man the most sacred and cherished memory of college days will always be that morning hour in Walker Hall where intellect was quickened and ambition aroused.

HENRY NELSON BULLARD OF THE CLASS OF 1896, IN THE
CHRISTIAN WORK AND EVANGELIST

Many a young man has heard of President Garfield's definition of a college, as "Mark Hopkins at one end of a log and a student at the other," and has repeated it with a smile, even though he understood and envied Garfield his great teacher. No student has attended Amherst College in years and has taken the course in philosophy without having a personal understanding of what Garfield meant. Many men scattered all over the world, when they think back to their college course, think first of Garman.

Professor Garman never wrote very much, and so his name was not as widely known as many others. He said he had not time to write and lecture, as, once started, it would be impossible to stop. His place was in his class room and with his disciples. His course was second to none in real popularity; two thirds of a Senior class would elect it, and they found him a real teacher, such a teacher that almost every evening through the spring term you could find his disciples.

In our year, as in every other, some of us became so interested that some each year were not content to be his pupils, but became a few of the young men gathered at his home for a while. These were not always the most brilliant students in his class, but they came nearest to him, and it was there, with just a few, that the light we often saw in his eye in the class room shone the brightest and most constant. We used to wonder if that was the way the disciples of Socrates used to gather about their master, and we felt we could understand them as others could not. It must have been with something of the same feeling that Paul sat at the feet of Gamaliel, and even more perfectly that Mary, and the other disciples, too,

chose the better part and sat at the feet of Jesus and heard his words.

Years afterwards it was my privilege to spend a few days back at Amherst, and the most prominent thought on the long journey was whether I should find the same charm in that class room or whether it would turn out be to a case of boyish hero worship and the idealizing of the past. But as I sat in the old, familiar room and listened, the assurance lost all uncertainty that the development of personal philosophy and maturer attitude toward life had followed the lines laid down in his teaching. And when an extra class, not an elective but an extra, gathered almost to a man for a study that, in the seminary, we should call theology, and young men who, in that strange pride of youthful self-assurance, would spurn a preacher and a sermon, asked and answered questions that bore on the facts of God and eternal life to which all that course of study tended, what bystander, who was one with the class at heart, could help but call him Master?

One of Professor Garman's colleagues, himself a teacher of personality, in the freedom that would not have been possible with an undergraduate, told how, when students came asking advice about their senior studies, he always said first: "Be sure and take Garman." And when they often answered, "What, do you put a course in philosophy first?" he would reply: "Young man, whether it is philosophy or political economy, literature or differential calculus, no matter. Take Garman." Yes, the man would have made any course worth while; but, best of all, he made what ought to be the great underlying lessons of life so real and compelling that men went out from his classes with the germ of a real philosophy of life ready to develop. Those who really came close to him have found his teaching work out resistlessly in their lives, and you can

almost tell such Amherst men wherever you may find them.

And now they tell us Garman is dead. It is like the passing of a father. Our children were to have gone to him, and now he is beyond their reach. Still, we know that the spirit of his class room was caught by him at the feet of Julius Hawley Seelye, and it is the eternal spirit, the only real transmigration of souls that the world knows. His works shall live after him; no man can measure the power of his life.

W. B. CHASE OF THE CLASS OF 1896, IN THE NEW YORK SUN,
FEBRUARY 11, 1907

Of Prof. Charles Edward Garman, to whom the little Yankee College of Amherst to-morrow pays last honors with such personal feeling as rarely a small college and possibly never a large one can show, it was said that no educational force in New England in this generation had been more widely felt or, by name, at any rate, less known. He lives in his students. Those to whom his masterful teaching seemed always a terribly serious matter of life and death, but especially of their life here and now, not only came to be quickly recognized in the professional schools, but also to represent a noteworthy proportion of philosophical educators the country over.

"The moment a man fits himself into the working of the universe, he becomes omnipotent," was Professor Garman's motto. "The moment he fits himself out, he becomes out of gear with all," he once added. "If a man does a heroic deed, all nature backs him up. 'Hitch your wagon to a star,' says Emerson. How about coasting?" Young city men, then snowbound in a village of hills, could enjoy this ready gift of illustration and humor.

Their strongest memory, however, was of his privately printed pamphlets in psychology, wherein the

teacher some fine morning would hurl at his youthful thinkers some half-truth, some one side of famous controversy, one party statement of historic doubt, and leave the boys to see their own way clear of it before the next pamphlet was forthcoming. The writings were never public. The trustee of this student literature, as she also was the constant guardian of its author, was Mr. Garman's devoted wife.

Garman never preached, he rarely spoke in public. Visitors were not welcomed in his class room. But his band of Senior students there would wrestle day after day with riddles of the universe, and come out to find they had acquired, not his views, if indeed they guessed what they were, nor yet a set of opinions of their own, but the ability rather to tackle new perplexities of actual life in Garman's masterful way. They could weigh evidence.

"Human nature," he used to say, "is like the country of Holland, below the level of the sea and below the tide of superstition, and there is a constant tendency to pull down the dike. We must pay no attention to the man who tries to pull down the dikes. We must not get tired of the transcendental question, 'How do we know?' or 'What do we behold?'"

A great man has left us. The throat trouble to which Professor Garman was always susceptible culminated last Saturday, after three weeks' acute illness, in death from septicemia. There is hardly a college in the country where some pupil will not be sharing to-morrow the sorrow of his own little college for a man who once refused a presidency elsewhere in order to stand by his own chosen methods and classes.

DR. LYMAN ABBOTT, IN THE OUTLOOK

The death of Prof. Charles E. Garman of Amherst College, last week, will make little impression outside the circle of his pupils. For his whole life was devoted with singleness of purpose to them.

He knew no public outside of his class room. Happily for him, he was not without appreciation in his chosen kingdom. Their appreciation was characteristically testified to in the volume published last summer, dedicated to him by thirteen of his former pupils who are now occupying prominent positions as educators, most of them in colleges or universities, each of whom contributed to the volume an essay on some phase of philosophy. For nearly a quarter of a century Mr. Garman had been Professor of Moral Philosophy in Amherst College, and the fact that thirteen of his pupils have attained in early life eminent positions as philosophical teachers bears testimony to the excellence of his work. Fifty years ago philosophy was taught as a perfected system; that is, the teacher had a certain definite philosophy which he communicated to his pupils, as the teacher of physical science instructs his pupils that the earth is round and revolves about the sun. The extreme of this method was well illustrated in a school in which less than half a century ago the pupils were expected to commit Butler's *Analogy* to memory and recite it verbatim, unless, as the teacher sarcastically told them, they could phrase the passage better than did Dr. Butler. In reaction against this method came what we may perhaps call the laboratory method, in which the problems of life are thrown out at the students and they are left to wrestle with the problems and reach their own conclusions, with little or no help from the teacher. The avowed object of this method is to train the pupils to philosophical thinking, not to conduct them to sound conclusions. The difficulty with this method is that it is too much to expect that a boy of eighteen will reach, unaided, sound conclusions on subjects upon which philosophers from Plato to Hegel have been putting their best endeavors. A good many students, given metaphysical nuts to crack, only crack their own teeth. Professor Garman combined the

first and the second methods; he put the problems in philosophy before his students with absolute candor; he evaded no difficulties, stifled no inquiry, assumed, as proved, no dogmas. But he guided the thinking of his students towards what he believed to be sound conclusions. They worked in the laboratory, but under his direction. Some of them did not reach his conclusions; more of them forgot the conclusions which they did reach; but practically all of them were inspired by the spirit of free inquiry, and with the conviction that free inquiry conducted with reverence for the truth can be trusted eventually to reach trustworthy conclusions. The affectionate respect with which the graduates from his class room look back upon him can be compared only to that with which Thomas Arnold has been regarded by the graduates of Rugby. Professor Garman's death will be keenly felt by a large circle of devoted friends whose friendship has in many cases survived the separation of years.

WARREN F. HARDY OF THE CLASS OF 1900, IN THE
SPRINGFIELD UNION

Death again has stepped into the Amherst College faculty and taken its greatest teacher, Charles Edward Garman, philosopher and man-maker. Here was a man who, shunning the publicity and resulting fame that come from literature, gave his whole life to his class-room work, that of changing careless, unthinking boys into earnest, sober-minded, thinking seekers after truth. It has been said of Professor Garman that in the realm of mental and moral philosophy he had no equal as a teacher. This is the testimony of many of his pupils who have pursued these subjects further under the great masters in the large universities.

How better the eternal truths could be imparted, how teaching methods could be more perfected than they were under Professor Garman, it is impossible to see.

It is indeed true that while he seldom or never wrote for publication, he made his men his books, and through them he spoke to the world. Though he lived a quiet, secluded life, his methods were known to other great students of philosophy. It is because of this fact that there is preserved in literature that remarkable letter to G. Stanley Hall of Clark University which prefaces the commemorative volume written by thirteen of Professor Garman's students and presented to him at the alumni dinner last Commencement; and yet this letter, showing as it does the writer's wonderful knowledge of the mind and soul, was only an answer to a request for information regarding his class room methods, and at the time it was written was never intended for publication.

In not a few instances men have gone into Professor Garman's class room honest doubters or agnostics, all but convinced of the non-existence of God, and have come out with every doubt removed and a scientific foundation laid for the superstructure of Truth. Such was the power of his teaching that while he was expounding some deep principle, his students sat spell-bound, breaking, when he had finished, into a subdued and involuntary applause, which was quieted at once, as if to preserve the sanctity of the time and place. By infinite care and patience, guarding against false steps and pitfalls, he taught men to weigh evidence and to think for themselves. He taught them to distinguish the false from the true, taking his examples sometimes from literature, sometimes from history. He called to him from time to time men who were out fighting the battle of life and who knew the world and the great problems. They reported to him as staff officers report to a general, and by the information they furnished he strengthened his lines, and made his attack more vigorous and aggressive.

In Professor Garman's passing Amherst sustains a loss so grievous as to be beyond realization. Cut off

in the prime of his manhood, he left unfinished much of the work he had planned to accomplish. There is no one who can quite fill his place. But he left a splendid legacy in many an earnest and able teacher of philosophy who has sat at his feet and knew his methods and his plans and hopes for the future. And from among these Amherst may choose a worthy successor.

EDITORIAL IN THE AMHERST STUDENT, FEBRUARY 16,
1907

The college and its hundreds of alumni mourn; for, from their midst has passed the person of a great man, their teacher, guide, and friend. Connected with the institution for a quarter of a century, Professor Charles E. Garman, a man who, early in life, showed great promise of unusual mental ability, has yearly added to that immense store of knowledge acquired in his undergraduate days at Amherst, has kept his vision true and clear, undimmed by the passing theories and transient dogmas of the times, has with steady hand steered his course of philosophic inquiry through those tempests and billows which have characterized and revolutionized the science in the last twenty-five years towards the only haven of which he knew, the haven of truth. Unremittingly, indefatigably has he poured out his vitality in endeavoring to determine what was eternally right, what was unchangingly true. His whole life is a record of diligent search for truth, of minute weighing of evidence, and its result was a simple, deep, manly faith, not only in God and the Christian religion, but in mankind itself. For a mighty factor of the philosophy of Professor Garman was its glorious optimism. He never looked at the world through smoked glasses, but ever with that clear insight into things whereby he saw in the confusion about him the guiding hand of the All-wise, leading the universe to the realization of the "perfect state" which is the

Kingdom of God on earth. Handicapped by a physique not strong enough to stand the constant strain which his powerfully aggressive brain put upon it, his fight against bodily limitation assumed heroic proportions. More than once he sustained himself from utter collapse only by strong determination, and in his hours of suffering, of which he had many, he never lost sight of his ideals, the realizing of which was his goal; his faith did not waver, but rather it deepened and expressed itself in an ever-broadening and more beautiful character.

But it was not his wonderful intellectual attainment, his diligent search for the truth, his optimism or his titanic struggle which made him a great man. All of these would be insufficient unless fused with that characteristic of unassuming service for others, the most beautiful and Christlike of all virtues. And Professor Garman's life was one of continual service. This was the simple, the culminating message of his teaching, and he lived up to what he taught. Scorning the plaudits of the world, he avoided public life in order that he might give himself and his learning to a greater degree to his college that he loved, and to his pupils whose lives were just as truly his life, and whose interests, his interests. As teacher and as friend alike he gave unreservedly of all that was in him. It mattered not the time, the place, or the circumstances, he was ever at the service of those who called upon him for advice, for help, or for sympathy. Self-sacrifice for others even to the point of disregard of his own physical welfare was the keynote of his quiet life among us. And it was for this also that the many who knew Professor Garman loved and revered him.

He was not a great man alone; he was a great teacher. He believed in a man's ability to think for himself, and instead of attempting to force his own conclusions upon his pupils, he sought rather to instill

into their minds the right processes of reasoning, in order that they might think matters through for themselves, and arrive at right conclusions as a result of their own deliberation. And many is the man who, called upon to determine certain of the grave questions of life, has felt that he owes to Professor Garman a debt impossible to pay, because of the power of independence gained at his hands. Self-reliance and reverence for the deeper things of life were the direct results of his teaching, and to many life has assumed a deeper significance and has been more worth while the living because of contact with this man and the influence of his guiding hand in things spiritual as well as temporal.

To the future classes Professor Garman can be only an influence lingering among these halls, a name among the great names of Amherst; to us alone who have known him can he be a reality. Before we came here we had heard of him; as Freshmen his name and form became familiar to us, as Sophomores we anticipated his course, as Juniors we undertook his work, gained some of his knowledge, were inspired by his ideals, and as Seniors have come to know and love the man. As in the great loss which has come to us we are impoverished, so in the great life, keen in the search of truth, strong in faith, true in the cause of righteousness, we have been beyond measure enriched. This life was dedicated to his work, was given to us, as the Good Shepherd he so often held before us gave His life for the sheep. Like Him, too, his life does not end with his departure from this world: his teaching, founded in a thousand minds, shall make him live, and while the ideals of life descend from father to son he shall never die.

EDITORIAL IN THE SPRINGFIELD REPUBLICAN, FEBRUARY 10,
1907

The death of Prof. Charles E. Garman of Amherst College is not only a real and vital loss to that institution and its power, but the personality of one who was a man among men, and everywhere an inspiration, will be missed by hundreds to whom Amherst is merely a name. Wherein lay Dr. Garman's ability to inspire his students to interest in philosophy is well set forth in another column by Prof. A. H. Pierce of Smith College. When the latter says that it was the ambition of this teacher of philosophy "to teach a student how to weigh evidence and to arouse in him the conviction that he could do his own independent weighing and that truth's ultimate appeal lay in his own mind" — Professor Pierce has admirably and exactly described the method and the results which marked the long-sustained teaching of Mark Hopkins of Williams. The inference is clear that after his own fashion both Hopkins and Garman worked along a common ideal which, in each case, produced splendidly definite results. The college is fortunate which has a teacher capable of so placing his mark upon generations of students.

APPRECIATIONS IN CONNECTION WITH THE
COMMEMORATIVE VOLUME, PRESENTED JUNE,
1906

PRESENTATION ADDRESS BY JAMES H. TUFTS

IN presenting you this volume of Studies in Philosophy and Psychology I am speaking for two groups, — a smaller group of thirteen contributors to the volume, and a larger group of more than six hundred, who have joined to make the volume possible.

The smaller group, who have written for the volume, have had two motives. First of all, we want to express to you and to the world of scholarship in the most adequate way in our power — however inadequate it really is — our appreciation of you and of your work in the teaching of philosophy. The work of the lawyer, the physician, the engineer, the discoverer, the writer, is constantly tested by objective standards. The case is won, the sick is healed, the bridge is built, the poem, the scientific discovery, is criticised and stands a permanent part of progress. But the work of the teacher cannot have these tests. It is a personal work, and the only test is the personal expression. Moreover, the kindling of a present interest, however lively, is not the only test the teacher craves. Does his work appeal only to the young man, at a certain stage of development, under certain conditions, possibly artificial, or does it have permanent value? Does it stand the test of fuller knowledge and wider experience? We want to say to you and to the world of scholars that we believe your work meets this test. We believe it stands. We believe

that to train men to think, to awaken men to the larger problems of the world and of human life, and to train men to grasp these and be enlarged by them, is the greatest possible achievement for the college teacher of philosophy.

And the second thing which the smaller group has had in mind is this: Other sons of Amherst have shown their loyalty to the college in gifts of buildings such as this in which we meet or the one adjoining, or in gifts for equipment and endowment which make possible the maintenance and development of the work of the college. We who are not engaged in economically productive industry cannot do this service. We have desired, therefore, to make a return in the only way open to us; to pay our tithe in kind. The college is partly the corporation, partly the foundations which make possible its work, but it is also in part a faculty. We then desire to pay in this volume a tribute of honor and affection to the president and the whole teaching body through you. If it cannot add to the material equipment it may add something to the courage and satisfaction with which you and others take up anew the burden of your work.

But I am speaking also for the larger group which has joined to make the volume possible. Your course has never been conceived as a course principally for specialists. Philosophy has not been for you or for us a science remote from life. You have aimed to show us all that there are real values in life to be sought and acted upon. You have taught us that in a universe of movement and growth no doctrine or institution can resist reconstruction, except by a death which is as fatal to the body religious, social, and political, as sepsis is to the body physical. You have taught us that it is the part of educated men — the duty they owe their kind — to take serious and earnest part in this reshaping of values.

You have given new and more social meaning to the old Socratic doctrine that a life in which there is not this spirit of inquiry and intelligent constructive purpose is not worthy of man. You have shown how every occupation is dignified by this spirit of rational service.

And, moreover, we want to express our belief not only in the spirit of your teaching, but in its method. Education in my day in Amherst College was not what C. F. Adams deploras as "arms'-length" education. In the work we felt the man. The teacher of philosophy has in his theme the possibility of an especially personal service. There is a fine suggestion in the fresco in the Boston Library. Amid the symbols for art, science, and discovery, philosophy has for its symbol Plato in friendly converse with a young man, engaged in the common pursuit of the real meaning of the world and of life. To encourage men by this personal companionship and criticism, to awaken them to the larger problems of life, to show them some of its values and how to search for others, — this is the service you have rendered. Long may you perform this for Amherst men!

I am presenting two volumes. Amherst men who have known the work of the department know that though but one name stands in the catalogue, you have long had a colleague whose coöperation has in unusual degree made your work a success. Amherst men tender their tribute of honor and gratitude not only to the man whom they have known, but to your colleague, who has had so large a share in all we here commemorate — Mrs. Garman. Long may you both bless Amherst, and, through her, the state!

THE PRESENTATION OF THE VOLUME, EDITORIAL IN THE
SPRINGFIELD UNION, JUNE 30, 1906

The tribute to the head of her philosophy department, Prof. Charles E. Garman, was the feature of Amherst's Commencement. In comparison with this the completion of the sum necessary to secure the new laboratory building was only an incident. The beautiful custom of honoring a beloved teacher by dedicating to him the work of his pupils is borrowed from Germany, where the university professor perhaps even more than in this country impresses his individuality upon the student. During the past year thirteen of Professor Garman's old pupils wrote a book entitled "Studies in Philosophy and Psychology," and at the Commencement dinner on Wednesday Professor Tufts of Chicago University, one of the authors, in an address ringing with the expression of a scholar's loyalty to the master at whose feet he had sat, presented the volume to Professor Garman and his wife, who has been his faithful and devoted helper.

Professor Garman's reply will never be forgotten by those who heard it. Seldom is the philosopher an orator, but in the great hall which was so quiet that the not overstrong voice carried to the farthest corners there was not a man who was not stirred and swayed. In that ten-minute speech was crowded more intellectual nourishment, more sage admonition, more inspiration than many of his hearers would receive in a year's time. The cheers with which Professor Garman was greeted as he finished were but a poor expression of appreciation which pupils and friends rendered to this man-maker.

Perhaps the work of Professor Garman can best be brought out by the words of another speaker on the same occasion: "He sits in his watch-tower looking out upon the field of life covered with its great armies, now and then summoning one from the ranks

to learn from him how the battle goes, that he may better advise some young warrior who is about to don his armor. And so here in Amherst he maintains a sort of intellectual West Point."

The recipient of this graceful tribute from his pupils and his college holds an honored place in the intellectual world. That he may devote himself more closely to his labors he has declined positions of greater prominence, and has avoided press and platform, but the force of his mind is felt in the great educational centres, and, what is of greater importance, his methods and precepts dominate the lives of hundreds.

PROFESSOR WILLIAM JAMES, IN THE NATION, AUGUST
9, 1906

Charles Edward Garman, professor of philosophy at Amherst College, has for a quarter of a century played a somewhat unique part in our American academic system. To "publish," to pursue "original investigation," has during that time been the ideal that most of his compeers have aspired to; but he, with as good capacities for that sort of thing as any of them, has unswervingly devoted all his energies to being an inspiring teacher; and his "publishing" has only been of pamphlets for the use of his successive classes. The results have been extraordinary in their effect, not only on the intellect, but on the character of those who have come under his influence. His pupils, many of whom are now academic personages of importance, have thought fit to express their "gratitude, admiration, and affection" by a *Festschrift* on the German pattern, published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., entitled "Studies in Philosophy and Psychology," and dedicated to Professor Garman, whose portrait forms its frontispiece. The thirteen essays which the volume contains are of first-rate importance, too various, and in some cases too technical, to call for detailed

notice here — the philosophical periodicals will doubtless do them justice. Meanwhile the editors have printed, as a sort of introduction, “without the knowledge of Professor Garman,” a long letter, written by him many years ago, in which his views of the way to teach philosophy and of its rôle in manly education are vividly expounded. The philosophic class room is for him the place *par excellence* in which a young man may acquire confidence in his own reflective judgments. He thinks that the crisis of intellectual self-reliance in the individual may, with proper pedagogic skill, be brought on there, and may make him immune for life against weak-minded imitativeness. As in the breaking of a colt, there is one grand opportunity which bad teaching may forfeit, but which good teaching will secure, and protectively vaccinate, as it were, the student’s future mental character. Professor Garman’s own account of his methods is delightfully original. The whole volume, full as it is of able and striking matter, should suffice to show that a life modestly consecrated to what nowadays seems the less fashionable half of a “professor’s” functions, may yet reap its meed of fame, and burst, in spite of itself, into the wider publicity. It should serve as encouragement to the pure teacher the world over.

PROFESSOR ADDISON W. MOORE, IN THE JOURNAL OF
PHILOSOPHY, NOVEMBER 8, 1906

“By their fruits ye shall know them.” This volume is the second recent and notable commemorative presentation of “fruits” by former students to American teachers of philosophy. Professor Garman, like Professor Howison, belongs to that select circle of philosophers who take the teaching of philosophy seriously and who succeed, therefore, in getting students to take philosophy seriously. If, now and then, Professor Garman has been visited with regret

that since he found "that his students would be satisfied with nothing less" than his best and his entire energy in teaching, he dared not "let down his course and devote himself to publishing," he must find much in this volume to vindicate his course.

Professor Garman's letter on the purpose and method of teaching philosophy, which forms the excellent preface of the volume, was originally published in the *American Journal of Psychology*, in 1898, and is, therefore, familiar to many. Of this letter it is necessary to say only that it is not difficult for the reader to understand how Professor Garman has succeeded so well in inoculating his students with philosophy and in convincing them of its essentially *vital* character — that it is something more than "a game."

PROFESSOR JAMES ANGELL. IN THE JOURNAL OF
PHILOSOPHY FOR NOVEMBER 8, 1906

The tribute which this dignified volume offers is not alone to Professor Garman the man, it is also to an academic and educational ideal which has in recent years suffered some obscurity in this country, but which promises speedily to come to its own once more. Original investigation and research, often of a very shallow and specious kind, has been the touchstone by which alone professional work has of late too often been tested. Professor Garman has deliberately chosen to follow an older and less spectacular ideal. He has resolutely set before himself the true teacher's office — the inspiration and guidance of those committed to his charge. To this task he has dedicated his every energy, and his research has been amidst the mysteries of human nature as the sympathetic and scholarly teacher meets this in his students. That his labors have been richly rewarded is well demonstrated by the striking group of men who contribute

to this volume, and whom in a fair sense he may be said to have discovered.

PROFESSOR ARTHUR O. LOVEJOY, IN THE PSYCHOLOGICAL
BULLETIN, JANUARY 15, 1907

The publication of this substantial and beautiful volume has a peculiar appropriateness because of the unique position which Professor Garman has long held among American teachers of philosophy. One ought not to say that Mr. Garman has given up to a college what was meant for mankind; but it seems evident that he has given up to his students time and personal gifts that, otherwise bestowed, might long since have yielded a much greater harvest of public recognition and outwardly visible results of labor. He appears — while possessing strong and distinctive philosophical convictions of his own — to have largely foregone literary production and the allurements of philosophical controversy in behalf of cherished causes, in order to devote all possible energy and thought to the perfecting of a method of imparting to young barbarians of undergraduate age something of the philosophic temper, a sense of the vital significance of philosophical problems and some power of philosophizing. . . . Mr. Garman has become *par excellence* a specialist in the pedagogy of the teaching of philosophy.

PROFESSOR JOHN DEWEY, IN THE PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW
OF SEPTEMBER, 1907

This volume, edited by a committee of five of Professor Garman's former students, is a significant fruit of the advance of serious thought and independent research in American college life, an evidence of the increasing solidarity among men of scholarship, and an indication of the growth of a desirable intellectual piety. The stimulating influence of Professor

Garman as a teacher has long been a familiar fact to those interested in philosophy, and has palliated, although it has not removed, the regret that he has not sent forth in print the products of his vigorous intellect. A recent investigation of the collegiate education of American teachers and writers in philosophy and psychology showed, I believe, that, considering the relative size of institutions, a greater proportion of these teachers came from Amherst College than from any other one institution. It was in every way appropriate that the rounding off of Professor Garman's twenty-five years as a teacher of philosophy in that institution should be commemorated in this *Festschrift*.

EDITORIAL IN THE CONGREGATIONALIST OF
JULY 7, 1906

Among the announcements of gifts at the college Commencements this season, the recognition of one contribution made to Amherst stands quite apart by its significance. This is the twenty-fifth year of Prof. C. E. Garman's service as teacher of philosophy in that institution, and his former pupils came back in large numbers to express their honor and affection for him. They presented to him a commemorative volume, containing articles on philosophical and psychological subjects, written by thirteen members of his former classes. More than five hundred graduates who have received instruction from him joined in making the gift. We doubt if any one contribution has ever been received by Amherst of greater value than this service of twenty-five years by one of its most eminent teachers. We have heard young men of different classes say that no man has ever done so much to determine their ideals, give direction to their lives, and provide them with a firm basis of Christian faith as Professor Garman has done.

His personal influence over young men who have found him a friend and counselor as well as a teacher has been of priceless value. No money gift for buildings and endowments can be compared with the gift of a well-trained, consecrated life to the college.

RESOLUTIONS AND MINUTES ADOPTED BY VARIOUS BODIES

THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF AMHERST COLLEGE

IN noting the death of Charles Edward Garman, Doctor of Divinity, Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in Amherst College, the Board of Trustees desires to express its profound sense of the loss experienced in his decease. A graduate of the college, loyally devoted to its interests, he was for more than twenty-six years a teacher of its students. No man among all its honored instructors has ever given himself more unsparingly, laboriously, or conscientiously to the work of the class room, or has been more fully the recipient of the affectionate reverence of those whom he has taught. A teacher of rare skill in the impartation of knowledge, a philosophical thinker of clearness, persuasiveness, and power, an instructor whose intellectual abilities commanded the admiration of his pupils and who raised up from among them those who gave themselves to the study of the high themes that he made his pursuit, his greatest qualities were yet those of an inspirer of young men, who could hold before them in compelling force the ideals of a lofty, self-sacrificing, spiritually minded manhood. As a teacher, a scholar, and a man of learning and of zeal, a friend and helper of those committed to his charge, the Trustees of Amherst College would record their loving appreciation of the work and character of Professor Garman.

BY THE FACULTY OF AMHERST COLLEGE

Again Amherst College has been called upon to suffer a grievous loss. Death has removed from our number another colleague, Professor Garman, the beloved disciple of the much lamented President Seelye, by whom he was chosen to carry forward the work in the philosophical department. Following the example of his great teacher, he successfully met the responsibilities of the work intrusted to his charge, and has so identified himself with the very life of the college that we cannot contemplate his departure from our physical sight without the deepest sorrow and the consciousness of irretrievable loss.

We recall his complete and enthusiastic devotion to the work for which he was so preëminently fitted and so thoroughly prepared; his power of inspiring all his students with the deepest interest in his subject; his marvelous skill in presenting in the clearest and simplest form the most profound truths of philosophy and religion; his rare ability in developing in others the desire and the power of thinking for themselves, and his unwearied patience in assisting all who needed aid in working out their individual problems, and in establishing their faith in eternal verities.

We can never forget his genial bearing, his marked courtesy, his ever cordial greetings, his delicate sense of humor, his affectionate nature and manly character. In his case it was certainly true that, wherever he found a stranger, there he left a friend.

To his wife, who for so many years has rendered him the most helpful and devoted service, and to all his relatives, we wish to extend our most heartfelt sympathy, and to express our grief for the loss of his invaluable service to the students, the faculty, the entire college.

BY THE UNDERGRADUATES

Whereas, it hath pleased Almighty God in His infinite wisdom to take from us our teacher and friend, Professor Charles E. Garman, revered for his earnest endeavor to instill into the minds of his pupils the processes for determining the truth, his beautiful life of self-sacrifice to the interests of his college and his constant living up to those ideals which he had set for himself, his sympathetic responsiveness to the wishes of those about him, be it

Resolved, That we, the students of Amherst College, do deeply mourn the loss of so true a friend and guide, and do sincerely sympathize with the bereaved ones at this time of their affliction.

BY THE CLASS OF 1872

Whereas, the Class of 1872, meeting for its Thirty-fifth reunion (June 25, 1907), is profoundly and sadly aware of the great loss which our loved Alma Mater has sustained in the death of our former fellow classmate, Professor Charles E. Garman —

Therefore, be it *Resolved*, That we record our appreciation of what he was to us in the close friendship of college days and in the subsequent years of participation in the sterner struggle of life and experience; a man whose loss we, as a class, greatly mourn and whose presence, rarely absent from these class reunions, we greatly miss to-day; a man always studious and candid, a patient investigator of truth at its source; a teacher of rare clearness of thought and expression; serving the college with the entire consecration of his best energy and ability, and loved as few others, by the whole student body during a quarter of a century; a man of devotion to God, to humanity, to truth, and to duty; tender and sympathetic, with a deep insight into the character of young men; courteous and friendly to a marked

degree, a fine type of the Christian gentleman and inspiring all with the best ideals of Christian life and character.

Resolved, also, That we, as a class, feel a very deep sense of class pride in the life and labors of this eminent educator, whose services to Amherst College in its philosophical department made that department, long so favorably known under his predecessor, even more illustrious still and of the highest rank among the colleges of the country; and, *Resolved*, also, That we express to Amherst College our increasing love and loyalty, made more loyal than ever by such distinguished services from one of our number on the behalf of Alma Mater; services which not only are among the most prized memories of our class, but of the college.

And, be it *Resolved*, That we express to the sorrowing widow of our deceased classmate our sympathy, praying that her loneliness may be mitigated by the divine companionship and by the companionship of all holy memories.

And, finally, be it *Resolved*, That we send a copy of these resolutions to Mrs. Garman and to the press, the same also to be engrossed upon our own class records.

BY THE AMHERST CLUB OF CHICAGO

The Amherst Club of Chicago, in common with all Amherst men, mourns the death of Professor Charles E. Garman. To all its members he was known as a power in the college, and as one of the great teachers of the country; by the larger part of its members he was revered and loved as a personal friend who had exercised an inspiring and permanent influence upon their lives.

Those who were his students will never forget the clearness with which he presented profound thought, the interest with which he invested the seemingly most difficult problems, the thoroughness and acute-

ness of his criticisms, the brilliancy of his illustrations, the serenity, fairness, and candor with which he met objections, the skill with which current problems were utilized to illustrate profound principles, the cumulative force with which the work moved on from day to day until the supreme issues of human life seemed to stand out and challenge decision. They remember the fineness of spirit which was itself the best evidence for the unseen values which he made real and vital. They remember the cordial sympathy and friendship which was always so genuine and personal. They are profoundly grateful that for twenty-five years Professor Garman's life and teaching have been a strength to Amherst and a blessing to her sons. They grieve at the calamity which has deprived the college and coming classes of his presence and influence.

The Club desires to express to Mrs. Garman its sincere sympathy and its appreciation of the coöperation which has done so much to make possible Professor Garman's extraordinary service.

BY THE NORTHWEST AMHERST ALUMNI ASSOCIATION

Resolved, That this Association has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Professor Charles E. Garman. He was a man greatly beloved by all who knew him. In the modesty, simplicity, and goodness of his life he had a charm and Christlike spirit that made him attractive to every true heart. His mental hold upon great truths, his rare ability to read the character of every class and to understand the quality of mind of every member of each class, his beautiful, illustrative English, his earnestness, his devotion to work, and his surpassing brilliancy made him the ideal teacher. He has led many a college man into the light, and all who have sat at his feet have had a larger share in the bringing in of the "Kingdom" than would otherwise have been possible. In the lives of thousands his work goes on.

Resolved, That we express to Mrs. Garman and to the college our fullest sympathy in their great loss. May the great Father, whom he still loves and serves, comfort all our hearts!

BY THE CLASS OF 1884

Together the Class of '84 and Charles E. Garman began their life at Amherst College, the former as students, the latter as their teacher. From his lips as Freshmen they learned mathematics and as Seniors they learned philosophy. No later class enjoyed so much of his instruction, and his first class always held a place apart in his affection. We looked up to him and revered him as our intellectual and spiritual father; he loved us as the first-born among his children. For more than twenty years he sent a letter of greeting to each annual class reunion, and it was ever an incentive to nobler thought, more unselfish purpose, and more strenuous action. He was our ideal teacher, one who "chose to write, not on dead sheep's skins, but on living men's hearts," and as elder brethren in a long and honored roll of mourners we lay our tribute of love and reverence upon his grave. His life inspired many to follow, even afar off, in his footsteps; his death, we believe, will extend and deepen that aspiration, and in the end shall we not find that his work answers to the true test of greatness, that the world mounts rather than sinks at his departure?

BY THE CLASS OF 1872

The Class of '94 desires by this letter to give some expression, inadequate though it must be, to its feeling towards Professor Garman, which the great sorrow of his death has made uppermost in the minds of its members. The years that have intervened since we left his class room have only served to strengthen the conviction that in him we had one of the greatest

and most unusual teachers of our land. From the first hour of contact with him, we were led to feel the momentousness of life and its ideals. He made us believe above all things in truth. He made us see that truth must be personally discovered, and awakened in us the conviction that each one of us had the faculty for its discovery. As he taught us, we felt ourselves to be under the influence of a great personality that was calling forth all our manhood. He taught philosophy so as to make men. His appeals to the reasoning faculty, to the imagination, to the moral instincts and the sense of social obligation, were alike powerful. In him were united true learning, philosophic insight into the human soul, and close study of the life of our time, together with a masterly skill in instructions and the loftiest ethical idealism. We shall always turn to him in thought as to our great teacher, to whom we are indebted for one of the most powerful influences for good in our lives, and whom we shall never cease to revere.

Not least in our memory of him are the personal friendship that he gave so freely to all who sought it, his lavish devotion of his time and strength to his classes and to the individual needs of his students, and the singleness of mind with which he persisted in his purpose to write his thoughts first of all upon the hearts of men.

Cherishing his spirit and influence as we do, it cheers us at this time to think that they sprang from Amherst, that they were representative of Amherst, and that in some measure they are living again in hundreds of Amherst men. In such thoughts, which bring to all who mourn for Professor Garman both inspiration and obligation, we find a true consolation for our loss of him, even as he must find in them a present joy.

BY THE AMHERST ALUMNI ASSOCIATION OF ST. LOUIS

The Amherst Alumni Association of St. Louis has learned with profound regret of the death of Charles E. Garman, late professor of philosophy in Amherst College. It hardly seems possible that he has been taken from the college. We realize that in the best and truest sense he has not been taken from us, but he remains, and his work remains, and will always endure as a permanent part of the college and of every man who came under his ennobling influence.

Words do not give adequate expression to the feelings which we have in the deep loss that we have all sustained. His was a life of inspiration, and every man who came in contact with him was made better thereby. Himself inspired, he inspired all who came to know him, and the inspiration of his life will always continue.

ALPHA CHI CHAPTER OF PHI GAMMA DELTA

Whereas, God, in His infinite wisdom, has seen fit to take from us our beloved and revered friend and teacher, Professor Garman, be it

Resolved, That we, the members of Alpha Chi Chapter of Phi Gamma Delta, do express our heartfelt sorrow at the loss which we as a chapter and individually feel most deeply. And be it further

Resolved, That we extend our sympathy to Mrs. Garman in her bereavement.

BY THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF MOUNT HOLYOKE
COLLEGE

Whereas it has pleased our Heavenly Father to take from his earthly labors our esteemed friend and associate, Professor Charles E. Garman. Therefore be it

Resolved, That in humble tribute to the memory of the departed one we hereby recognize the greatness of

our loss, for his many noble qualities had endeared him to our hearts and we sadly miss his presence at the meetings of the Board of Trustees.

Resolved, That his experience as a thoroughly qualified instructor, his sound learning combined with his good sense and instinctive fidelity to the essentials of scholarship, made him a worthy adviser, wise counselor and an esteemed associate; our warmest sympathies go out towards the cherished companion of his life, whose comfort and happiness he always sought; to whom we desire a copy of these resolutions to be sent in token of the great appreciation in which we held our dear friend.

BY THE FACULTY OF MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE

The Faculty of Mount Holyoke College wish to express to Mrs. Garman their sincere sympathy in her great bereavement.

They also wish to place on record their appreciation of the life and work of Professor Garman, and their recognition of the loss to our own college of his influence as a trustee.

BY THE STUDENTS' LEAGUE, MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE,
SOUTH HADLEY, MASSACHUSETTS

Whereas, Almighty God, in His infinite wisdom, has chosen to call unto Himself Charles E. Garman, a trustee of Mount Holyoke College, held in great honor and esteem by the students for his loyal service in their behalf, it is

Resolved, That we extend our deepest sympathy to his family and friends in their bereavement, and

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to them, and inserted in the *Mount Holyoke*.

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